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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL GROUP STRUCTURES AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF ORIENTATIONS TOWARD PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

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A SOCIAL STRATA STUDY WAS MADE OF SELECTED HIGH SCHOOLS. THE
INSTRUMENTS, METHODS OF CLIQUE AND CROWD DETECTION, AND THE
STRUCTURE OF PARTICIPATION WERE ALL REPORTED. EMPIRICAL EXPLORATIONS
INCLUDED CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS, SOCIAL PARTICIPATION,
AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS. THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED PRIMARILY FOR
THE PURPOSE OF DEVELOPING INSTRUMENTS AND TESTING IDEAS. HOWEVER,
CONCLUSIONS WERE PRESENTED ON THE SUBSTANTIVE FINDINGS. AN IMPORTANT
FINDING INDICATED THE RELATIVE ISOLATION OF MANY STUDENTS FROM THE
SCHOOL AS A COMMUNITY. FUTURE STUDIES WERE SUGGESTED TO DESIGN
INSTRUMENTS FOR MEASURING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL
PARTICIPATION AND ORIENTATION TOWARD PUBLIC AFFAIRS. (RS)

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Office of Education

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AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORIENTATIONS TOWARD PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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PART I
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THEORY AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Since the days of the first sputnik, in 1957, American educational philosophy and practices have been subjected to re-evaluation. Scientific knowledge was suddenly recognized as a weapon in the national arsenal, not merely a national asset. The educational profession, perceived as having emphasized individual adjustment over the production of military ordinance, once more found itself under pressure. Under threat of being called unpatriotic, it was enjoined to cut out the "frills" and to devote itself single-mindedly to the production of scientific manpower.

Whether this actually called for a change in educational methods and, indeed, whether such a change was possible, remained to be seen. The changes that the Deweyite revolution has brought about in American education are no doubt profoundly rooted in the structure and attitudes of American society. And if it emphasized "democratic citizenship" as a major objective of all educational experience, it was responding to the needs of a fluid society in which people move from place to place and from status to status, and in which nationally shared patterns of social behavior and adjustment are therefore highly prized.

In spite of recurrent protest movements against the schools' failure to give children a thorough grounding in the basic subject matters of instruction and against their tendency to cater to the social needs of adolescents, there can be little doubt that the opposition between school and community, between adolescent and adult cultures, is not nearly as profound and as serious as it is sometimes made out to be. After all, it is mainly adult culture, through its advertising and mass media, and through the financial and moral support of typical adolescent activities by parents, which creates, condones, and fosters adolescent culture. Nor is it altogether certain that the culture of the young is really quite as distinct from that of their elders as some would argue. Many a school superintendent will gladly attest that a good football team not only fosters school spirit, but also helps mobilize citizen support for the school and may result in additional mills of property tax for the support of the school system.

James S. Coleman* has argued, in a recent study of ten high schools, that adolescent culture is something quite different from that of the adults, and that a growing chasm exists between the two. Although he does not say so explicitly, he seems to assume that adults do not share the young people's interests in sports and social life and would prefer to see adolescents put greater stress upon their studies. Repeatedly he suggests that the grown-ups might attempt to "redirect" adolescent society.** Yet, we have no proof that a substantial or sufficiently influential segment of American actually regards the social life of the high school and the culture of adolescents as alien to its own culture and therefore in need of redirection.

It is doubtful, therefore, that Coleman's diagnosis will find wide acceptance. In spite of the argument, often made in the public press, that America needs, above all, to train young scientists and technicians and that rigorous scholarship is therefore the requirement of the hour, pre-sputnik beliefs persist. As recently as 1960, Robert W. Frederick published a volume entitled The Third Curriculum*** in which he shows that student activities are now an integral part of the educational process and form a third curriculum in addition to the required and elective ones. As time passes, American educators will no doubt recover from the shock of the public pressure that caused some to recant publicly, and they will "prove" once more that "citizenship" activities in school do not inhibit the acquisition of intellectual knowledge and skills, but on the contrary further it.

I. CITIZENSHIP AND PLURALISM IN THE HIGH SCHOOL

American educational theory is thoroughly environmentalist. The term can be given several meanings, and all will fit. It means regarding the student as a product of his environment, particularly the social environment of home, school, and community. It means that successful education will result in the effective functioning of the student in his environment, present as well as future. It means that the student is motivated to

*James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of The Teenagers and its Impact of Education (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press), 1961.

**See, for instance, p. 9 of his study.

***New York: Appleton Crofts, Inc., 1960.

learn when he perceives learning as useful, as increasing his ability to cope with his environment. And it means that the teacher has the duty of creating an environment in which learning will take place. Thus, what the student is deemed capable of assimilating and what society deems worthy of transmission to future generations are all determined by the relationship between individual and environment.

This doctrine is thoroughly opposed to the notions of a former age in which teaching was regarded as the transmission of information from those who knew to those who did not yet know. The learner had no part in determining what was to be taught and learned, and if he proved recalcitrant, he was merely showing his lack of comprehension. Such an attitude toward teaching is now thoroughly discredited, and the opposition against it is often expressed in highly emotional terms. The following quotation is typical:

Education broadly considered should help the individual to live successfully in his environment. The traditional curriculum of the secondary school, geared as it is to college-entrance requirements, has little to interest the great majority of secondary school pupils. They are impatient with the hypothetical inanities and obscurities of the average courses in geometry, grammar, history, and science, not because these subjects do not contain the key to vital problems of daily living, but because tradition has over the years abstracted them, withdrawn them from life, and fossilized them between the pages of a textbook or syllabus or within the narrow confines of the scientific demonstration.*

The subject matter of instruction, then, is valuable only insofar as it has some significant bearing on the pupil's immediate experience. Intellectual curiosity as such, aesthetic enjoyment for its own sake, are discounted as significant motivations for learning. But what makes subject matter relevant to the young person's experience? Two kinds of links between the world of learning and the young person are usually postulated. Motivation to learn is thought to result from the closeness of the instructional subject matter to the student's environment in home and community, or else to grow out of a group process in the classroom and school, of which learning is a part.

*Frederick C. Gruber and Thomas Bayard Beatty, Secondary School Activities (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1954), p. 25.

In either case, motivation to learn is thought to be largely social — learning is a citizenship activity, and to learn is to become a citizen. The primary goal of teaching is not to impart skill and information, but to prepare citizens for participation in a democracy.

A major criterion in judging our teaching is whether or not it promotes values and skills essential to effective participation in a democratic society. Teaching for efficient learning is teaching that results in democratic values and skills.*

While there are separate courses in citizenship, the development of democratic attitudes and behavior patterns is conceived to be a part of all instruction. The young person's total experience in school is believed to contribute to this development of democratic attitudes. The effect is obtained in two ways: (1) through the experience of collective decision-making in classroom and extracurricular activities and, (2) through contact with other students who have different values and experiences. Wiles describes both of these processes as follows:

Our best technique for teaching values is through the operation of the class. We learn what we live. Certain values are held in common by most Americans. These democratic values can be taught if they constitute the basic framework for the code of behavior in a classroom. . . . We can help pupils develop their own values by encouraging them to investigate the values their fellows hold. In a population as cosmopolitan as the American, we know that every classroom includes youngsters from families with a wide variety of backgrounds. Out of these backgrounds come different values, revealed in different beliefs and different standards. As youngsters have an opportunity to talk together about the standards and beliefs that are held in their own homes, each youngster has a wider basis for determining the quality of his own values.**

Democratic citizenship, as conceived by the educational theorists does not imply, however, that all beliefs are to be accorded the same status of respectability.

*Kimball Wiles, Teaching for Better Schools (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1952), p. 25.

**Ibid., pp. 146-7.

The democratic process in the classroom and the informal contacts of young people with each other are supposed to move opinions toward a consensus, and only what is socially accepted and acceptable is in the last analysis fit for individual consumption. As Wiles puts it:

Whether or not there are any fundamental, unchanging values, the functional values for an individual are those that he accepts. We explain our reasons for holding certain values and give the pupils a chance to explain their reasons for holding theirs. We make no claims about which values are superior. The superiority of given values is ascertained only by the group as a result of its own analysis.*

Or, as another author puts it, perhaps more strongly, there is

. . . one essential function of American education: to weld American youth into a body of citizens who have at least begun to mature in their understanding of democracy and their grasp of its critical issues. . . . To accustom the young of a democracy to learn together about the problems of their own social order and to face together some of these problems in the life of the school itself -- this is fully as important as the selection of budding scientists or other experts.**

Particularly strong claims are made for the importance of extracurricular programs as a vehicle for teaching democratic orientations. They are believed to provide the opportunity for a practical application of principles and attainment through the practice of democracy in the school. The learning of Democratic behavior is felt to be encouraged by the permissive atmosphere which usually prevails in school activities, as well as by the student's voluntary and undirected participation in the program.*** Among the extracurricular programs, those allowing student participation in the management of the school are believed to be of particularly great value for the formation of democratic attitudes. Patterson believes one of the most dominant assumptions about citizenship in

*Wiles, p. 148

**Henry W. Holmes, "Pity the Gifted," The Educational Forum, XXII (1958), 199.

***C. A. Berry, "Activities and Citizenship," Yearbook of the National Council for Social Sciences (1951), pp. 131-141.

the secondary schools is that "it is learned through limited participation in the management of school affairs. The chief vehicle of this participation is the apparatus of student government or student councils."*

These doctrines about the acquisition of citizenship attitudes in the school setting assume two types of learning: (1) through transfer of behavior patterns acquired in the classroom and in extracurricular activities to situation in public life, and (2) through changes in character structure brought about by exposure to the thinking and feeling of other people, through identification with them, and through working out in common with them solutions to value problems.

These two assumed processes, although frequently mentioned in close connection with each other, are actually quite different. The first process seems much akin to the mechanism of generalization of behavior patterns which are acquired through operant conditioning, as in a Skinner box. The second presumes that contacts with other individuals and exchanges of communication with them will bring about some empathy, some understanding of other peoples' positions, some acceptance of divergent views. The second mechanism, thus, is one of personality change.

These are the two mechanisms which this study is designed to investigate. As we will show below, these mechanisms have also been postulated by writers in fields outside of education, particularly in sociology and political science. In no field have they ever been systematically tested, although the practical consequences drawn from them are considerable.

In the field of education, some doubt has recently been cast on the effectiveness of the transfer mechanisms just described. Ezra V. Saul, for instance, states:

A frequently reported observation is that the high school student who was extremely active and effective in school government and clubs is not, following graduation, an active and effective citizen in the community. Though there are several possible factors which may account for such a state of affairs, it is not inappropriate to consider that the situation may be due to a

*Franklin Patterson, "Citizenship and the High School: Representative Current Practices," in Franklin Patterson, ed., The Adolescent Citizen (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), p. 127.

specific failure in the school program of instruction.

The particular failure suggested here is that the school's program of student government and "democratically" run club activities, as well as subject matter content of courses, does not provide the student with an opportunity to learn the specific responses which are transferable to real-life situations encountered later. Certainly, the student learns appropriate responses to a chairman at a parliamentary meeting and those difficult-to-define "social skills" of committee work and even the proverb: "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance." What the student probably does not have the opportunity to practice in the secondary school setting, however, is addressing the Board of Selectmen on the need of a school parking lot or soliciting petitioners for a rezoning ordinance, or attending town meetings regularly.*

The author goes on to say that current theories about transfer of learning indicate that maximum positive transfer will occur only when the practiced stimulus-response sequence is identical with the transfer situation. He concludes that the school, to give young people experience in citizenship, should give them opportunities to practice citizenship behavior in situations more realistic than those of the teenage club and student government.

The author does not explain how the setting of the classroom or of the school club differs from the city hall. Is it that the distinctions are merely superficial — the meeting room in city hall does not look like a classroom, and selectmen do not look like students? Or are there more fundamental differences and processes — selectmen do not act like students? In other words, is it the case that students, although learning behavior appropriate to the functioning of a democratic political system in the classroom, cannot apply their democratic skills in community and nation because they fail to recognize the parallelism between classroom and political assembly? Or is it that

*Ezra V. Saul, "The Relevance of Selected Psychological Data for Citizenship Education," in Franklin Patterson, ed., The Adolescent Citizen, p. 237.

the skills required for functioning in the political world are not actually taught in the classroom.

To judge by the content of the educational literature, teachers lean toward the former alternative: They believe that they teach the skills required for the individual's functioning in a democratic society, and, if it is found that their teachings are not effectively applied, they tend to blame the lack of obvious correspondence between school room and community. This opinion is probably fallacious; and if it is, the suggestion that the high school should teach citizenship in a more realistic setting is probably doomed to failure. For politics, as played by politicians in the real world, is a rough game -- it is hardly a proper sport for strengthening the intellectual and emotional sinews of youth.

At the heart of politics is conflict. And the fight, most of the time, does not concern insignificant questions such as the color of the decorations at the next junior prom. The issues with which politics deals are of deep and lasting interest, as they touch upon the livelihood, the status, and the convictions of men. To be sure, the city council may involve itself in lengthy discussions as to whether a high-rise building ought to be permitted at such and such a street corner and, having heard the testimony of experts and interested parties, may reach a consensus. But the issues that make politics the fearsome and exhilarating activity it is are of much longer duration and much less susceptible of easy settlement. For more than 200 years Frenchmen have been struggling over the form of their political regime and over the relative influence of church and state. The race issue has been with the American people for at least the same amount of time. The problems of the welfare state at home and of national sovereignty and international control abroad have gripped all nations for some time and are likely to occupy them for a long period hence. Political behavior is behavior in a world rent by profound conflicts whose solution no one expects to be either immediate or entirely amicable. Democratic politics is distinguished from the more authoritarian variety by certain processes designed to limit the damage that might be inflicted upon individuals or upon society in the course of the conflict -- but conflict there is, and neither the stakes to be won nor the penalties to be incurred can be regarded as entirely trivial.

It is plain that the high school does not, and probably cannot, teach young people behavior appropriate to situation of combat. On the contrary, to the extent that

the school teaches what students of education have learned from their textbooks on the school and the community, it is likely to incapacitate rather than help the future citizen. The high school student who has accepted the high school textbook's description of a democratic community as a reflection of reality is unlikely to be very effective in political life. If he expects politics to consist in careful deliberations of rational people upon issues of common interest and the search for common solutions, the realities of political life are likely to prove bewildering and upsetting. The discrepancy between what is taught in the school and what is observed in the real world may well contribute to the cynicism with which many people regard political life.

Despite its insistence on individualism, educational theory regarding citizenship is essentially conformist. Thus, current usage calls "citizenship" what was formerly termed "deportment."* But a citizen, dealing with issues in the political world, must face situations not covered by settled standards. Conformity with consensual imperatives is useless where there is no consensus. The qualities required of the good citizen in a democratic polity cannot, therefore, be those required of the "good citizen" of the school community. What, then, are they? We have already said that a distinguishing characteristic of a democratic society is that it limits, through special processes, the damage that might result from political combat. These special processes -- of election, of due process, of judicial decision-making, of bargaining in the political market place -- require a certain amount of emotional flexibility among the participants. Active citizens as well as politicians in a democracy must recognize conflict as one of the givens of social life, something neither to be deplored nor exalted for its own sake. They must, further, to accept the inevitability of conflict, and recognize that many issues will remain without solution for a long time. Such orientations toward conflict require a certain amount of insight into social processes as well as into the motivations of individuals or groups of people. Where such insight exists, and where individuals accept conflict as an inevitable adjunct of social life, there is less likely to be a demand for immediate and single-minded solutions. The active citizen of a democracy and the professional politician are led to

*For a lucid description of this phenomenon, see Franklin Patterson, High Schools for a Free Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), pp.42-44.

compromise, not because they necessarily see "two sides to every question," but because they recognize that the cost of having their own way is greater than the benefits of winning. Thus, if we are interested in the development of citizenship orientations, we must study the manner in which individuals learn the insights necessary to handle social conflict.

II. THE PLURALISTIC HYPOTHESIS

Given our definition of democratic citizenship as ability to cope with conflict, how can experience in high school contribute towards its development in the student? The phenomenon of conflict is not, of course, restricted to politics -- it exists in the high school, where the student is likely to encounter, often for the first time, people of backgrounds radically different from his own or from the homogeneous neighborhood in which he has spent his life previously. Many high schools, then, are small pluralistic societies in which young people may -- though not necessarily -- come into contact with students of different backgrounds and views. The experience of variety in human beliefs and behavior may yield insights which make conflict a more tolerable social phenomenon. Social and intellectual pluralism may thus be conducive to adequate functioning in a democratic society.

This pluralistic hypothesis has been given its most cogent expression by the German sociologist Georg Simmel. In his Web of Group-Affiliations, Simmel argues at length that individuality arises from the individual's commitment to the multiplicity of groups to which he belongs.

The groups with which the individual is affiliated constitute a system of coordinates, as it were, such that each new group with which he becomes affiliated circumscribed him more exactly and more unambiguously. To belong to any one of these groups leaves the individual considerable leeway. But the larger the number of groups to which an individual belongs, the more improbable is it that other persons will exhibit the same combination of group-affiliations, that these particular groups will "intersect" once again [in a second individual]. . . . As the person becomes affiliated with a social group, he surrenders himself to it. A synthesis of such subjective affiliations creates a group in an objective sense. But the person also regains his individuality,

because his pattern of participation is unique; hence the fact of multiple group-participation creates in turn a new subjective element. Causal determination of, and purposive actions by, the individual appear as two sides of the same coin. The genesis of the personality has been interpreted as the point of intersection for innumerable social influences, as the end-product of heritages derived from the most diverse groups and periods of adjustment. Hence, individuality was interpreted as that particular set of constituent elements which in their quality and combination make up the individual. But as the individual becomes affiliated with social groups in accordance with the diversity of his drives and interests, he thereby expresses and returns what he has "received," though he does so consciously and on a higher level.*

Multiple group affiliations do not make only for individuality, but they also induce segmental commitments of individuals -- i.e., the individual does not surrender himself entirely to each group, nor espouse all of each group's beliefs and values. For the individual cannot, without contradicting himself, accept all the positions assumed by the groups with which he is affiliated. Simmel makes this point particularly strongly with respect to political parties:

I shall mention here the frequent discrepancies which arise because an individual or a group are controlled by interests that are opposed to each other. This may permit individual and groups to belong at the same time to parties which are opposed to each other. Individuals are likely to become affiliated with conflicting groups, if in a many-sided culture the political parties are intensely active. Under such conditions it usually happens that the political parties also represent the different viewpoints on those questions which have nothing at all to do with politics. Thus, a certain tendency in literature, art, religion, etc., is associated with one party, an opposite tendency with another. The dividing line which separates the parties is, thereby, extended throughout the entire

*Georg Simmel, The Web of Group-Affiliations, translated by Reinhard Bendix (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 140-141.

range of human interests. Obviously, an individual who will not surrender completely to the dictates of the party, will join a group, say, on the basis of his aesthetic or religious convictions, which is amalgamated with his political enemies. He will be affiliated with two groups which regard each other as opponents.*

Segmental involvement in a multiplicity of affiliations is an indispensable prerequisite of a democracy. We have made this point earlier in a passage which bears repeating.

Democracy cannot prosper unless the citizens are bound into their society by a complex, many-stranded network of social ties. The individual takes part in society in a variety of ways -- through his job, his friendships, his family, and his organizational memberships. He has more than one stake in society; and his actions in one area of social living are controlled and tempered by their effects upon his other social relations. Thus, when acting as a parent of school children, a citizen is mindful of his roles and interests as a neighbor, as a taxpayer, and perhaps as a personal acquaintance of the chemistry teacher. By his many contacts with others, by the diversity of the interests he shares with them, and by the necessity of striking a balance among his own often contradictory interests, the citizen is inhibited from joining monolithic and uncompromising groups. Democracy relies upon the high degree of differentiation and the interdependence of groups in society as a system of checks and balances operating upon each group and upon each individual.**

Explicitly or implicitly, the pluralistic hypothesis pervades much of the literature of political science. Thus, David Truman argues that interest groups arise from the "tangent associations" of citizens, and that their multiple associations at the same time

*Georg Simmel, The Web of Group-Affiliations, cited above, pp. 156-157.

**Frank A. Pinner, Paul Jacobs, and Philip Selznick, Old Age and Political Behavior (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 1-2.

operate as restraints upon the groups active on the political scene.*

In the area of industrial relations, Kerr and Siegel have demonstrated that strike-proneness, i.e., the willingness to engage in social combat even if the interests of third parties are seriously endangered, is most common among the groups of workers who, in all countries, are most severely isolated from society at large: the miners, the sailors and longshoremen, and, to a lesser extent, the lumber and textile workers. The more likely the members of an occupation are to come in contact with people outside their own group, the less likely they are to go on strike, particularly if their striking may affect adversely other people with whom they are affiliated.**

The thesis expressed in these quotations rests upon assumptions that are not altogether self-evident. Multiple participation means inconsistencies and contradictions in the individual's environment. It means tensions within the individual's cognitive and emotional fields. It is assumed that these contradictions not only restrain the individual from engaging in certain kinds of actions -- particularly from inflicting harm on others -- but that they also encourage him to seek creative solutions to conflict. At the very least, it is assumed that they do not discourage participation. However, a variety of studies about voting behavior indicate that this is not always the case. Chief among these is Voting by Bernard R. Berelson and Paul F. Lazarsfeld.*** In this as well as in their previous studies, these authors found that people under the "cross-pressures" that result from multiple participation in primary groups have greater difficulty than individuals not under such pressures in making up their minds about the parties and candidates they wish to vote for. Often they end up not voting at all. Such people, whose close associates

*David Truman, The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion (New York: Knopf, 1951), pp. 39-43.

**Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, "The Interindustry Propensity to Strike -- An International Comparison," in Arthur Kornhauser, Robert Dubin and Arthur M. Ross, eds., Industrial Conflict (New York: McGraw Hill, 1954), pp. 189-212. See in particular their discussion of the "isolated mass" and "the integrated individual and integrated group" on pp. 191-195.

***Voting, A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 128-132. For effect on interest, see page 27.

profess divergent political faiths, exhibit a lower level of political interest than the population as a whole. Festinger has shown that a person's cognitive system does not easily accommodate mutually irreconcilable factual beliefs. As a result, changes in cognitions take place to remove the discrepancy and eliminate "cognitive dissonance" in the course of such reorganization.*

In order to explain these findings and to determine whether they can be reconciled with the pluralistic hypothesis, we must take a further step back to the emotional patterns which can be expected to underlie responses to multiple group membership. Clearly, any kind of discrepancy in the individual's cognitive world is likely to arouse anxieties. The individual gets cues for action from his social environment. If action seems necessary or desirable, and his close associates give different definitions of the situation or recommend different courses of action, he may suffer three kinds of anxiety depending on his predispositions and upon the particular characteristics of the situation: (1) Without clear indications as to which is the proper step to take, the individual may become fearful that one or the other alternative may prove inappropriate, costly, or harmful; (2) He may fear that expounding some alternative of belief or action would lose the affections of people close to him, or cause his ostracism from their group; thus he suffers "separation anxiety"; (3) He may fear that acceptance of one of the alternatives may prove inappropriate to the status he wishes to maintain or attain and render his present or future status less secure or even lower it: thus he suffers "status anxiety."** The likelihood that an individual will suffer such anxieties, and the intensity of such anxieties if suffered, seem to depend on certain personality predispositions. He may already have learned from experience that wrong choices of alternatives only rarely have disastrous consequences, that his family and friends are not likely to ostracize him for not sharing some of their beliefs, that his status is not endangered

*Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Evanston, Illinois: Row Peterson, 1957), pp. 18-31 et passim.

**For "separation anxiety" see Sebastian DeGrazia, The Political Community: A Study in Anomie (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 11-15 et passim.

For "status anxiety" see Frank A. Pinner, et. al., Old Age and Political Behavior (cited above), pp. 69 ff.

every time he chooses some particular course of action. Such an individual is probably better able to tolerate discrepancies in his cognitive system and cross pressures in his social environment than are others. At bottom, then, the pluralistic hypothesis may be regarded as a theory of the social concomitants of conflict tolerance. And the ability to tolerate conflict, as we have shown, reflects a relative absence of anxiety, particularly of anxiety over conflict. In this respect we are in agreement with Lasswell, who defines the democratic personality as one less affected by anxieties than the undemocratic individual.*

The level of anxiety generated by conflict does, of course, depend not merely on personality but also upon the situation and the characteristics of the groups which are important to the individual. Leaving aside the purely situational variables, we might point out that writers espousing the pluralistic hypothesis generally have reference to voluntary associations, whereas those dealing with cross-pressures and cognitive dissonance refer chiefly to involuntary associations such as the family, the work group, the neighborhood, etc. If these latter are divided by divergencies of opinion, the individual has no choice as to whether or not he will expose himself to them. This is not true of voluntary organizations which, by definition, are self-selected. Individuals who cannot tolerate cognitive dissonance or environmental conflict are not likely to participate voluntarily in groups which might subject them to cross-pressures. The withdrawal responses found by Berelson and Lazarsfeld as well as the mechanisms of cognitive reorganization described by Festinger may well be the predominant responses of most people subjected to cross-pressures; they are, however, only rarely found among those whose cross-pressures result from membership in voluntary organizations, because the individual tending to exhibit these response patterns does not in general voluntarily submit himself to the pressure of divergent belief systems. On the other hand, since the individual cannot control the phenomenon in his involuntary association, most people subjected to the cross-pressures of close associates may exhibit withdrawal responses.

The pluralistic hypothesis as reformulated in the preceding paragraphs is

*"Democratic Character," in The Political Writings of Harold D. Lasswell (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 503-514.

recongizably circular. Pluralistic participation has been postulated to be corollary to relative absence of anxiety over conflict, which in turn has been ascribed to pluralistic experiences. This logical circularity of the hypothesis may well reflect the social realities it is designed to describe. The interaction between experience and emotional response may indeed be cyclical and which comes first -- experience or personality disposition -- may well be a question to which there is no easy answer. If, therefore, in this study we find correlation between pluralistic participation and ability to tolerate conflict, we do not mean to imply that the former is necessarily the cause of the latter.

Whatever the "first cause" may be, pluralistic experience is likely to widen the individual's range of experiences. The larger the portion of his environment he has been able to explore, the less threatening the environment is likely to be. But there may be barriers preventing the exploration of the environment, barriers which may be either external or internal, social or emotional. They may be social restrictions or incapacities like taboos or segregation of class or caste, or emotional blocks which prevent preception or understanding. Where such blocks exist, we encounter the phenomena of authoritarianism and dogmatism which have been thoroughly described.* An example of social barriers which prevent the extension of the range of experience is the phenomenon of working class authoritarianism described by Lipset and supported by a variety of studies.** While Lipset believes that working class authoritarianism results from the punitive patterns of child raising common among working class families, the notion that social barriers prevent wider understanding and inclucate anxieties is at least as plausible.

These considerations raise an important question about the possible relationship of pluralistic social experience to toleration of conflict. We have said that individuals whose access to wider knowledge is not barred by social or emotional blocks have the chance to expose themselves to a variety of social experiences and may therefore acquire pluralistic affiliations -- we have not said that they must necessarily do so. Again, we

*Theodore Adorno, et. al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper, 1950); Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind (New York: Basic Books, 1960).

**Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1960), pp. 97-130.

have said that those who have pluralistic experiences are more capable than others of coping with conflict situations -- we have not said that they necessarily do. Thus, while pluralistic experience may be a necessary condition of conflict tolerance and thus of the political orientations which we have called democratic, it may not be a sufficient condition. On the other end of the continuum, however, restriction of the range of experiences and the consequent anxieties over conflict may be both a necessary and a sufficient condition of dogmatism or authoritarianism. What has seemed to some a relationship between pluralistic participation and democratic political attitudes may thus be nothing more than the absence of the phenomena -- incompatible with pluralistic participation -- of authoritarianism and dogmatism.

III. QUANTITATIVE VS. QUALITATIVE PLURALISM

Participation was called pluralistic in the preceding discussions when the values or demands of the groups to which an individual was exposed were in some sense dissimilar. This raised the question whether it is possible to formulate criteria for deciding whether groups to which an individual belongs are similar or dissimilar. We have stated that the dissimilarities between groups may relate to their central interests and values. We have also said that participation is pluralistic if it exposes the individual to mutually incompatible beliefs or seems to require mutually incompatible courses of action. While these statements are suggestive, they provide us with no clear criteria for evaluating the similarity or dissimilarity of any two given groups.

There are three types of such criteria for measuring dissimilarity between groups: (1) the amount of tension experienced by the individual who belongs to two different groups, (2) the amount of discrepancy between groups as defined objectively by the researcher, and (3) the amount of discrepancy as defined by members of the culture or sub-culture which embraces the two groups.

Criteria of the first type are clearly unsuitable, because measures based upon them are not independent of the measures of conflict tolerance to which they will have to be related. Pluralistic participation, by exposing the individual to mutually incompatible beliefs or demands for action, may or may not cause him to suffer tension or anxiety, depending on other factors which have combined to form his particular personality. The amount of tension he suffers is clearly as much of a function of his individual ability to

handle conflict situations as it is of the intensity of the conflict confronting him in any pluralistic participation. Thus, we cannot use amount of individual tension as a measure of group difference.

Objective assessments of dissimilarity by the researcher are, at best, difficult to achieve. To attempt to evolve some objective standards for evaluating the similarity or difference of sets of beliefs would, doubtless, be a futile undertaking. The researcher might, therefore, wish to fasten upon the compatibility of the action imperatives which a given pair of groups might impose upon their members, but he would undoubtedly give up this attempt quickly, because any set of groups is likely to present an individual with irreconcilable alternatives.

There are several reasons for this. The simplest is that limitations of time and energy often keep a member from giving each of the groups he is affiliated with the amount of effort it requires. He must allocate his personal resources, and the resulting struggle of his groups for his attention spells group conflict. Nor is this a triviality having to do only with the problem of budgeting time and energy. Groups, no matter how closely allied in their views and objectives, no matter how limited or general their purposes, demand loyalty. Most groups are, in addition, imperialistic and proselytizing: they attempt to gain new recruits and to absorb as large a share as they can of their members' time and energy. Thus, the member of a large number of groups is likely to suffer serious conflicts even though all the groups profess similar views and engage in similar activities.

Thus, in a sense, there may be such a thing as quantitative pluralism. An individual may suffer tensions and cross-pressures by virtue of a mere multiplicity of participations, and be forced to learn how to compromise between the conflicting demands of his various social groups upon his loyalty and energy.

Whether it would be wise to hypothesize that such a quantitative pluralism encourages the development of conflict tolerance and democratic political orientations is another matter. If this were so, one would expect the hyperactive militant in a totalitarian society to become gradually more democratic. Perhaps this is the case, and it may be one of the mechanisms whereby totalitarian regimes can eventually become more democratic. However, since merely quantitative pluralism faces the individual only with

decisions as to the allocation of his resources, he does not need to cope with a variety of beliefs and possible action alternatives, nor is he impelled to gain deeper insights into the varieties of human personality and social organization. Since the beliefs to which he adheres remain unchallenged, he may be able to decide how to make the allocation of his resources on the basis of such norms as his belief system seems to him to imply, and quantitative pluralism may thus encourage the preservation and reenforcement of dogmatic orientations.

This encouragement of dogmatism is not necessarily confined to totalitarian environments. There is a democratic dogmatism as well which manifests itself in ritual expressions of democratic ideology. There can be little doubt that solemn affirmations of the worth of the individual, the importance of electoral processes, the need for impartial justice and so on, have become thus ritualized in our society. If several groups engage in the ritual affirmation of such democratic values, they may well contribute to the development in their common members of democratic dogmatism rather than a genuine democratic orientation.

Since our present knowledge does not permit us to formulate unambiguous hypotheses about the effects of quantitative pluralism, and since its effects possibly differ from those of qualitative pluralism, it is important to keep the two separate in our study. This also means that objective criteria for distinguishing between groups cannot be applied, since they do not permit us to distinguish between quantitative and qualitative pluralism.

We are left with only the third type of criterion for making this distinction. To establish differences between groups we must utilize the judgments made by individuals belonging to the culture or sub-culture of the groups. Such judgments are made in two ways: either by specification of the characteristics which people in a given culture consider distinguishing and critical, or by behavior. In using the first kind of judgment, we must ascertain what differences between groups appear to people as serious enough to be crucial. Judgment by behavior, on the other hand, is shown by the act of joining. Groups which are felt in a given culture to be really different are likely to have fewer members in common than those which are considered similar, and the amount of overlap between groups may thus be considered one possible measure of the difference between them.

IV. PLURALISTIC PARTICIPATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS IN THE HIGH SCHOOL*

The gregariousness of American high school life makes of the high school a natural laboratory in which to study the relationship between pluralistic participation and political orientations. There are other advantages: (1) Not only is the level of group participation particularly high, but for most individuals the high school provides the period of perhaps the most intensive social experiences in formal and informal groups; (2) Part of the formal curriculum in high school is designed to awaken interest in history and public affairs -- for some of the high school students, at least, this may be a formation period of orientations toward the political world; (3) The high school years are those of the greatest peer group influence upon individuals, and it is then that the effects of divergent or incompatible beliefs and action orientations may be felt most keenly.

How important group experiences are in the general population is difficult to decide. Among adults, there is much less participation in formal groups than has often been assumed by acute observers of the American scene from Alexis de Tocqueville to James Bryce.** In a national sample survey of adults conducted by the National Opinion Research Center in 1954, only 36 per cent of the sample claimed membership in one or more voluntary associations.*** The same study reported that 47 per cent of the sample belonged to families in which no member was affiliated with an association. Participation in formal associations increases with income, education, level of living, and home ownership. Thus, it seems to be associated with middle or upper class status, and the

*Much of the material used in the following section was first developed by Helenan Lewis. See her doctoral dissertation, "The Teenage Joiner and his Orientations Toward Public Affairs: A test of Two Multiple Group Membership Hypotheses," Michigan State University, 1962. Permission to use this material is gratefully acknowledged.

**Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1954), I, p. 199; James Bryce, Modern Democracies (New York: Macmillan, 1921), I, p. 132.

***Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), 286.

common belief that participation in formal associations pervades the entire American population may be ascribed to the greater visibility of these classes to the casual observer.

In the high school, however, formal participations extend further down the social scale. A study of five high schools in the state of Washington showed that only 6 per cent of the students belonged to no formal organization; the average participation rate was 2.5 organizations per boy and 3.7 organizations per girl.* The Bureau of Social and Political Research found, in a Lansing suburban community, that only 17.9 per cent of the students in the local high school belonged to no extracurricular school groups, and that the average participation rate was 2.2 groups per student.**

These rates of participation make it obvious that formal participation at the high school level reaches down into lower socio-economic layers than it does among adults. Nevertheless, it is to be expected that, even in high school, there will be a considerable difference, according to social class, in the number of individuals participating and the number of participations per individual. This is, no doubt, related to the students' general social orientations and expectations, and to the tendency of the schools to restrict the participation of the academically weaker students; academic achievement is, of course, also related to social class.

No precise data are available concerning adult informal participation, and we are therefore confined to general impressions. The major difficulty here is that it is nearly impossible to identify the informal groups to which an adult belongs. In Chapter 4 we discuss elaborate methods for accomplishing this task in high school; while the procedures are laborious, they are at least feasible since the universe of the school from which young people tend to recruit their friends is clearly circumscribed. (Informal associations outside the school present a more difficult problem which we have not attempted to solve.)

The period of intense social participation in high school may coincide with the growth of clear political perceptions and greater understanding of the public world. These go beyond the simple political identifications which seem to become established very

*Carol L. Stone, Pacific County Teenagers' Activities and Social Relations (Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations Circular 373 [May, 1960]), p. 15.

**Helenan Lewis, "The Teenage Joiner" (doctoral dissertation cited above), p. 11.

early -- as early perhaps as identifications with one's family, one's religious affiliation, and one's social class, which seem to be learned as effortlessly as one learns his name. In a pilot study of third-graders, for example, we found that the children could identify themselves as Democrats and Republicans almost as easily as they could identify themselves as Americans.* As Fred Greenstein has shown, these identifications are accompanied by rather Pollyanna-ish views of political life that are akin to children's naive glorification of their family. Politicians, during that period, are generally seen as well-meaning individuals whose main job is to help children and adults.** It is only toward the beginning of high school that a more realistic and less idealized image of politics begins to emerge. Even so, studies of adolescent information about and attitudes toward public affairs seem to indicate that these new understandings remain quite general and inarticulate. If, however, one had to specify the period during which the political orientations of Americans undergo the greatest formative changes, one would probably point to the high school period.

This is also the period during which the influence of the individual's peers is said to be greatest. This, at least, is the contention of such writers as James S. Coleman, who has recently described the adolescent society.*** Coleman does not discuss political orientations, and it is possible that peer group influences and peer group culture affect only the areas he covers: sports, entertainment, fashions, and social activities. These are also the areas in which, according to Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, peer influences most frequently affect personal attitudes and decisions.**** These authors also suggest, on the basis of admittedly scanty data, that the direction of influence in public affairs is

*Frank A. Pinner and Henry F. Cooke, "Political Identification -- Some Data and Reflections" (paper delivered at the 1961 Conference of Midwestern Political Scientists [mimeo.]).

**Fred I. Greenstein, "Children's Political Perspectives" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Yale, 1959), pp. 136-139.

***James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and its Impact on Education (New York: The Free Press, 1961).

****Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 277-278.

most frequently vertical and downward; it goes from higher to lower social status, and from older to younger people. The same thing may, of course, be true among adolescents -- and this raises two questions: whether adolescent society is really as different from adult society as Coleman believes and whether adolescent culture is something entirely apart from the culture of the society at large.

If orientations toward public affairs were in fact influenced by teachers, parents, and other adults more frequently than by friends of the same age, the intensity of peer-group relationships during adolescence would indeed be of no relevance to our investigations. But our acceptance of the relevance of peer-group influences in the formation of orientations toward public affairs hinges on the answer to yet another question -- whether influences affecting the development of political orientations may be expected to be direct or indirect. By "direct influence" we understand what is usually described as "transfer of learning," i.e., applying behavior patterns learned in one situation to a new one. By "indirect influence" we mean what is sometimes referred to as "displacement," the triggering of emotional patterns by situations other than those which originally contributed to their growth.

With respect to direct influence two possibilities, again, must be considered. The hypothesized transfer of learning may consist in expressing opinions in home and community which have been learned in the classroom and in discussions with personal friends, or else it may consist in the transfer to new situations of behavior patterns learned in school activities and in formal groups. The former of these alternatives can be dismissed as unlikely, since all data seem to indicate that political ideas do not play a sufficiently great role in teenage communications to be of any real importance. The second alternative has been seriously propounded by sociologists and educators. With respect to adult organizations, Arnold Rose, among others, has argued that participation in voluntary associations helps individuals to understand how political processes operate.* Rose believes that the democratic patterns of associational life, once learned, will be generalized to the political world at large. Serious reservations regarding this theory have

*Arnold H. Rose, Theory and Method in the Social Sciences (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 54.

recently been made by Murry Hausknetht, who has analyzed data from a national sample survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center.* He points out that the people who might stand to gain the most from participation in voluntary organizations are, as a rule, not members. Conversely, people who do join already have the skills, attitudes, and interests requisite for effective participation. Moreover, Hausknetht doubts that voluntary organization membership actually teaches democratic behavior.

It is possible to argue [he says] . . . that almost all associations in our society are democratic, and even a hobby club reproduces in miniature the processes of the larger society. The validity of the assumption that experience in microcosm fits one to understand and interact in macrocosm is doubtful, but there are more pragmatic grounds for scepticism here. Most organizations are "democratic" in name only; for the American Medical Association as well as the local social and athletic club, "oligarchical" is a more apt descriptive term. Membership and participation within these organizations hardly lead to the type of experience functional for the survival of political democracy within the larger society.**

Similar doubts may be raised regarding the effectiveness of extracurricular activities in teaching democratic attitudes. The extent to which the latter are actually "democratic" still awaits empirical determination. Our own impression from many conversations with observant students is that the students themselves do not generally regard these activities as democratically run. Their reservations about the democratic character of school clubs and activities relate to the absolute veto power usually reserved by the administration. Whether such veto power actually implies a serious limitation of student initiative and imposes a strong limitation on the power of decision-making is irrelevant. Psychologically, veto power is likely to mark any so-called democratic process as essentially futile, produce cynicism, and raise doubts about the workability of democratic processes in real life. Nevertheless, students do not generally demand

*Murry Hausknetht, The Joiners: A Sociological Description of Voluntary Association Membership in the United States (New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962), pp. 102-109.

**Ibid., p. 112.

greater freedom of decision-making in school-sponsored activities. They acknowledge willingly that adult supervision is necessary and guidance desirable. Perhaps it is this lack of enthusiasm for self-government that is transferred from extracurricular activities to happenings in the adult world and thus contributes to the often deplored apathy of the voter. This may also be one explanation of the finding, reported above, that those who have been active in school activities do not exhibit a similar interest and involvement in civic affairs in their later career.

Since the existence and possible nature of direct transfer in this instance is doubtful, we must investigate the possibility of indirect learning or "displacement." Harold Lasswell has popularized among political scientists a formula according to which "private motives displaced on to public objects and rationalized in terms of public interest make the political man."* Since this displacement hypothesis is crucial to our investigations, it deserves a more thorough examination both in this introduction and in the empirical part of this report.

V. THE DISPLACEMENT HYPOTHESIS

In psychoanalytic thinking, displacement is a defense mechanism of the Ego, whereby repressed feelings can be expressed toward objects of persons to which they did not originally apply. Thus, a person who detests his father may repress these and individually unacceptable feelings, but express them instead about the president of the country or a foreign enemy. It is not clear whether Lasswell always uses the term displacement in this restricted meaning of the word, or whether he has in mind a more general transfer of emotional patterns. His early studies on psychopathology and politics would support the view that he construes the term in its strictly psychoanalytic meaning. In this study, which cannot deal with the repressed motivations of individuals, we will use the concept more broadly to designate any kind of transfer of emotional pattern.

The displacement hypothesis will not be of any great use to us unless we are

*Psychopathology and Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), pp. 261-263. See also his World Politics and Personal Insecurity (New York: McGraw Hill, 1935), pp. 39-40. In the former volume, Lasswell applies his formula only to political leaders and activities, while in the latter he applies it more broadly to all humans responding symbolically to world affairs.

able to specify which emotional patterns are likely to be displaced. In our view, there are three such types of emotional patterns relating to conflict: (1) emotional responses to social objects, i.e., affections and hostilities; (2) need for affiliation and anxiety over the acquisition and maintenance of membership in social aggregates; and (3) ways of coping with conflict. Of the three, the first two most clearly fall into the category of repressed feelings which can be displaced upon less threatening objects, whereas the third somewhat resembles transfer of learning.

Displacement of emotional responses to social objects may show itself in tendencies to blame oneself or others, to consider others as initiators of conflict and to harbor punitive feelings toward them. If the individual harbors such feelings toward objects in his personal environment, the hypothesis of displacement is at least plausible. Need for affiliation and anxiety over membership status may be evidenced in various types of segregationist feelings designed to protect the wholeness of one's social group or stratum. Thus, a person who feels insecure in his relations with members of his family or his peer group may express these feelings in the form of concern over the ability of his country to defend itself against overt aggression or subversion, or as worried over the persistence of a cherished way of life. Preoccupation with the purity of one's group or groups will typically be a concomitant of such worries.

It is, however, possible that emotional responses to social objects as well as anxieties over affiliation will not be displaced directly, but that the individual will first learn to make adequate responses in his private life and then displace those response patterns upon public affairs. Such transferable responses may be acquired if, for instance, a person's family environment, although not particularly threatening, is nevertheless devoid of satisfying experiences; he may escape from this environment into a larger and sometimes more rewarding world. Thus, hostilities and affiliational anxieties generated at home may propel an individual into a more rewarding secondary environment such as the high school community. Here, he may at least collect the rewards of popularity and status, and in rare instances even those of personal affection. It is our impression that this is the stuff of which politicians are frequently made. What the individual displaces, then, upon public objects are not his anxieties but rather the ways of coping with them which he has found rewarding.

VI. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

We have now described the general theoretical considerations upon which this study rests. This enables us to draw up a list of study objectives which can serve as a guide for the construction of instruments and for the evaluation of our results. These are our objectives:

(1) Description of displacement mechanisms. In particular, it will be important to ascertain whether emotional responses to social objects, anxiety over affiliation, or ways of coping are most frequently displaced.

(2) Description of conflict orientations. Their major dimensions are: a. perception of the situation or the characteristics of individuals which most typically appear to cause conflict, b. tendencies to blame oneself or others for conflict, c. tendencies to see oneself or others as the initiators of conflict, and d. tendencies to punish those who appear responsible for conflict.

(3) Investigation of the relationship between interest in public affairs and other conflict orientations. In particular, it will be necessary to find out whether in-group feelings generated by anxiety over affiliation and concern with the wholeness of the group tend to be related to low interest in public affairs. Similarly, low interest may also be typical of those who displace their emotional responses to social objects onto public affairs. The reason for this hypothesized relationship is that the threatening character of political conflict may reduce political interest in individuals who are less able to cope with conflict situations.

(4) Investigation of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of social aggregates such as formal organization, cliques, crowds, and schools, with respect to orientations, interest in public affairs and in-group feelings. To the extent that given aggregates are homogeneous with respect to any or all of these variables, one may infer that some transfer of learning has taken place or, at least, that like orientations are generated in like circumstances.

(5) Investigation of relationships between indices of pluralism and conflict orientations as well as interest in public affairs. Each individual must be scored on the extent of his pluralistic participation, the scores being based on the similarities or dissimilarities of the groups of which he is a member. These scores must then be related to the indices of conflict orientations specified in point 2.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL STRATA IN HIGH SCHOOLS

The objectives listed at the end of the introductory chapter could be fully realized only if adequate samples of American high schools, and perhaps even of secondary schools in other countries, could be obtained. The purpose of the present study was somewhat more modest and more instrumental. Designed as a first step toward a broader research program, the study had as its primary purpose the development of instruments which might be used in such an endeavor. In this chapter, and in the three to follow (which together form Part II of this report), we describe the procedures we have used in the design and analysis of instruments, leaving the substantive findings of the study to Part III.

I. PRELIMINARY FIELD STUDIES

Among the most difficult problems of social science methodology is obtaining trustworthy data on human behavior. Attitudinal data are, by comparison, much easier to secure, and their reliability can be tested by well-known methods, while their validity is largely a matter of correlation with other variables. The main difference between attitudinal and behavioral studies is that the latter call for descriptions of events taking place over a certain period of time. Attitudinal studies, on the contrary, describe the respondent's thoughts and feelings at the time of the interview or test. Attitudinal data are therefore immediately available to the subject, and he need not even be aware that he is being called upon to express his attitudes. Short of prolonged or repeated observation behavioral data can be obtained only by asking the subject to recall and report the experiences in which the researcher is interested. Since observational procedures are often impractical or prohibitively expensive, the researcher is compelled to rely on the memory and the candid cooperation of his subjects. This, in turn, presupposes that the researcher is able to convey to the subject with sufficient clarity just what he wants him to recall. Difficulties of communication, inability of the subject to grasp what the researcher wants him to report, and lack of appreciation of the study are likely to impose severe limitations on the range and reliability of behavioral data.

In view of these difficulties, we decided to conduct a number of preliminary field studies whose results might guide us in the construction of our instruments. Since the questionnaires and tests we were ultimately to employ had to be of the paper-and-pencil type, careful preliminary investigations were particularly important. For, the paper-and-pencil instrument precludes the explanations, elaborations, and probing questions which are so valuable in conducting interviews.

The preliminary field studies had three major objectives. The first was to gain a general overview of what we were studying — the nature and type of social aggregates in the high school. Secondly, the preliminary studies were to explore the communications problem, i.e., they were to determine how much of their social experience in school the subjects were consciously aware of, and in what way they were able to describe it. Thirdly, these studies were to aid in selecting the communities in which we would carry out our studies.

In the preliminary studies, the interviewees were to be regarded as informants rather than respondents. They were to be taken into the interviewer's confidence and asked to report not merely what had happened to them but what they had observed among their friends and associates. Both teachers and students were to be interviewed.

The communities originally considered as possible locales for preliminary studies and, perhaps, for more complete investigations were all of medium size. We decided at the outset to avoid schools in the central cities of metropolitan areas as well as those in semi-rural communities. In both of these, we felt, there was too great a danger that the social backgrounds of the school populations might be too homogeneous. Since the schools in core cities of metropolitan areas do not serve the entire community but only sections of the town, we felt there was at the least considerable danger in using such schools. Not that the hypotheses of the study were expected to be inoperative in small or very large cities, but it was important in this instrument-building phase of our investigations that the schools in which the tools were tested offer a sufficient range of pluralistic experiences so that results could be obtained if the instruments worked properly.

In our conversations with the school officials of the ten districts originally explored we explained the objectives of our studies and asked the school administrators

to assess the multiplicity of experiences to which their students were believed to be subjected. At the end of these discussions, some of the officials declined to cooperate in the study, while we eliminated some communities because we did not think their students had a wide enough range of experiences, or because they were too similar to other communities we were considering. Preliminary field studies were then conducted in six of the ten communities investigated.

Some of the social and economic characteristics of these six communities are shown in Table 2.1.

Communities C and E are chiefly small trading centers, but there is a certain amount of light industry in C. Community B is very nearly a one-industry city, with only a few other industrial activities. D, further, has a history of labor and race conflicts, both of which are much less acute in the other industrial cities. There is, however, considerable union activity in F.

In each of the six communities between ten and twelve students and between two and six teachers were interviewed. These were selected by the administrative staff of the high school. The principal, assistant principal, and such other teachers as were believed to have insights into student life were asked to identify students who knew many other young people in the same school and had some grasp of the school's social structure. We asked specifically that these students should not be drawn exclusively from the so-called "popular" group and that students from all grade levels and in different social classes be included. In schools that had Negro students, we asked that we also be put in contact with young people of that race.

Short of lengthy field studies of the anthropological type, this was the only method of selection open to us. Even chain interviewing was out of the question in view of the difficulty of scheduling such interviews in a too-limited period of time. Also it appeared important, in the early stages, to give the school administrators some chance to participate in our work and to show some trust in their judgment.

The problems which we had expected to arise from having the administration select the informants turned out to be even more severe than anticipated. Nearly all of the students we interviewed were from the upper or middle social levels, well known as members of the "popular" crowds, well above average in scholarship, and committed to the

TABLE 2.1

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF SIX COMMUNITIES

	Community A	Community B	Community C	Community D	Community E	Community F
Total population (1960 census)	12,800	82,000	6,736	82,000	8,900	53,600
% Negro	20.3	16.7	-	6.4	-	-
Median years school completed	11.7	10.2	12.0	11.2	11.6	10.4
Median family income in \$	6,026	6,011	6,868	6,365	5,936	5,942
% families w/ income less than \$3,000	16.3	15.8	10.4	14.7	14.7	16.5
% families w/ income of \$10,000 or more	15.3	14.1	17.0	17.5	16.1	12.8
% labor force in manufacturing	41.1	44.9	30.8	34.2	24.5	40.2
Major industries in order of number of workers employed	machinery fabricated metals primary metals motor vehicles other durable goods electrical machinery food	motor vehicles various non-durable goods machinery	various durable goods	various non-durable goods chemicals printing motor vehicles food products	various durable goods	fabricated metals electrical machinery motor vehicles food products printing
Number of public high schools	1	2	1	2	1	2
High schools visited (1960-1961):						
No. of students	488	1,920	746	1,703	736	1,875
No. of teachers	61	87	41	69	33	72
*Teacher/Student ratio	1/8	1/22	1/18	1/24	1/23	1/26
Private high schools	--	2 Catholic parochial, 290 & 236 students	--	1 Protestant Dutch reformed 379 students; 1 university high school, 460 students	--	--

*Community A's very favorable ratio probably results from some junior high school teachers' also teaching high school classes.

dominant social values of the community. In communities with a Negro population, we did interview Negro students, but these, again, tended to come from the more prosperous and prominent Negro families. Some of the members of the study staff believed that this selection of students for preliminary interviews represented an attempt by the school administrators to "put their best foot forward" -- they gave an impression of not being particularly eager to acquaint us with the seamier side of the community and the school. While it is possible to make out such a case, and while there may even be some slight evidence for it, we now tend to believe that the selectivity in the school administrators' referrals of informants resulted more from lack of information than from a deliberate policy of concealment. In general we were somewhat surprised at how poorly informed both students and teachers were about people and activities outside their immediate social circles.

II. RESULTS OF PRELIMINARY FIELD STUDIES

A. SOCIAL AWARENESS

The range of social perception in the high school is considerably narrower than one might have expected, and it is perhaps narrower among teachers than among students. While teachers are always able to identify the leading crowds, they have very little to say about their activities and interests. They generally assume that the leading crowds consist primarily of students interested in parties and, depending on the teacher's own social point of view, this is either approved as a sign of social adjustment or deplored as a manifestation of snobbishness and superficiality. None of the teachers we interviewed were able to indicate how crowds broke down into smaller cliques, and only one or two of them were able to give any information about cliques or gangs at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum.

When asked to rank formal and informal groups by their level of social prestige, teachers tended to give evaluations rather different from those of the students themselves. Many of them laid much greater weight on the importance of extracurricular activities than the students did. They also tended to diverge sharply from the students as to the importance of activities not sponsored by the school. In Community B for example, the teachers tended to believe that the -- officially prohibited but unofficially tolerated -- sororities constituted the high end of the reputational scale. Most students ranked them second or lower.

The students' inadequacy of social perception was manifested in their inability to give details about informal groups to which they did not belong or which were not very closely connected with their own. Even groups of young people of about the same social status and ostensibly having the same interests were largely foreign territory, unexplored and unknown. Only a very few students were able to give details about the interests and activities of groups of young people belonging to a social stratum different from their own.

There was, however, considerable consensus among the students as to the prestige level of each group outside their own. Each student tended to rank his own group a little higher than non-participants did. But aside from this slight amount of self-delusion, the similarities in the social evaluations of the students were remarkable.

The narrowness of social perceptions in the school argues that the method we used, although it yields some important insights, is not to be recommended except where the time for preliminary investigations is particularly short. Our description of the schools' stratification system may well suffer from the middle-class bias of our informants. It is impossible to say to what extent middle-class beliefs, which pervaded the responses we obtained, are dominant among the student populations of the communities we have visited. Conceivably, these beliefs and attitudes are accepted not only by the "ins" but also by the "outs," though we have no evidence to prove or disprove this.

The narrowness of social perception in the high school, further, casts serious doubts on the ability of students to articulate their social experience. Similarities and dissimilarities between social groups, formal and informal, were topics which our informants found it extremely difficult to discuss. Indeed, there were even vocabulary difficulties. As part of our preliminary investigation, we had sought to find out what terms are usually employed by high school students to designate informal groups of varying sizes and degrees of closeness. When no answers were volunteered, we usually proposed such words as "clique," "crowd," "gang," "group," "bunch," etc. In none of the schools did the students appear to have any particular words to designate these social aggregates. Moreover, in some schools the term "clique" was considered to be opprobrious, while in others it appeared to be acceptable as a non-evaluative term. Since there is no common vocabulary for talking about informal groups, one must infer that the topic is never discussed among students in general or abstract terms.

On the other hand, students seem to have no difficulty in thinking about categorical social groups, talking about "upper crust," the "kids who are better off," or the "ordinary kids." Awareness of socio-economic distinctions appears to be much more common than is often believed, since almost all respondents, when asked about differences between social groups, first mention differences in wealth and social status.

B. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FORMAL AND INFORMAL PARTICIPATION

Most teachers, when asked about the social participation of the students, single out certain activities as particularly important and absorbing. Very few students do this, and even the members of the varsity team usually regard their sports activity as only a means to the end of social prominence. For most of the students, formal school-sponsored activities derive their significance from the informal groups which enter into them, get control of them, or use them as one of their meeting places. Among our informants, only those whose informal connections with other students were weakest singled out extracurricular activities as groups with which they were particularly well acquainted and which they wished to discuss in greater detail.

There is, however, a prestige ranking of extracurricular activities which varies only slightly from school to school. This prestige ranking appears to relate to the social status and popularity of the people who typically engage in the different activities, and variations in this prestige rating seem to be similarly related. The most highly prized activities appeared to be, in all schools, participation on the year-book staff and the newspaper, in the dramatic activities, and in the various social clubs of high standing. Certain more exclusive sports such as the ski club also tend to rate high. Among girls cheer-leading is highly regarded, not so much because of the associations it permits but because it represents victory in a bitterly fought popularity contest. Surprisingly, the varsity club is not always evaluated among the highest stratum of school-sponsored activities. In the three smaller communities, the athletes automatically belong to the leading crowds in the school, and the varsity club therefore ranks high. But in the larger cities social distinctions appear to be more important than athletic eminence, and since many of the athletes come from modest homes, the varsity club does not enjoy the prestige it has elsewhere. In one of these metropolitan communities where the football team is almost exclusively Negro, the varsity club has no particular social importance.

The second layer of school-sponsored clubs consists of academic and vocational activities, in that order. It includes such groups as French or science clubs and JETS (Junior Engineers), as well as Future Nurses, Future Teachers, etc. The students belonging to the leading formal and informal groups participate in such activities only if they have a substantive interest in them; such participation brings no honor and is not deemed worthy of lengthy description in the interviews. A similar position in the prestige hierarchy is occupied by organizations to which "everyone can belong," such as the Girls' Athletic Association. This group, however, may be rated above or below the second prestige level depending on the girls that take a leading position in it.

The third and lowest level of extracurricular activities is occupied by clubs of students who are not oriented toward college. This includes Future Farmers of America, Future Homemakers of America, secretarial and business clubs, and the like.

A somewhat ambiguous position in the prestige hierarchy is occupied by two kinds of groups -- hobby clubs and religious clubs. The clubs of car enthusiasts, for instance, seem to be very highly prized by their members, so highly that the teachers, who functioned as their advisors in Community F, listed the "Highwaymen" as having the highest reputation in the school. However, the popular students do not mention this group at all, and probably do not even know about it. A similar fate befalls the various religious organizations which, although they cannot be officially sponsored by the schools, somehow find ways of meeting regularly in the school buildings and are therefore regarded as a school-connected student activity. These hobby clubs and religious clubs have certain social status characteristics in common. Many of the members are probably recruited from the lower socio-economic classes but they are "right thinking." Students from the higher socio-economic groups who are interested in religious activity seem to prefer doing this sort of work in their churches and church youth groups. The various hobby clubs, particularly the clubs of car enthusiasts, appear to be attempts by the school to keep potentially delinquent young people off the streets and to channel their energies into approved activities. Thus, the hobby and religious clubs tend to be esteemed by those who know them for their soul-saving or rehabilitation functions, which leaves them in a reputational limbo; where they are rated at all, they appear to rank just below the FHA, FFA and similar organizations.

As we have indicated before, these ratings represent the views of middle- and upper-class students, and they are more general in the three smaller communities. In the larger three cities, however, a substantial number of students with "good" family backgrounds look upon extracurricular groups as activities for the socially unwashed. These students are essentially opposed to a social life organized in the spirit of equalitarianism, preferring greater exclusiveness in their personal associations.

C. CRITERIA OF STRATIFICATION IN THE SCHOOL

The system for classifying extracurricular activities into reputational layers depends upon a more general set of criteria that apply to all social groups, formal as well as informal. The criteria fall into two categories having to do with social status and norm compliance.

Norm compliance is a term we use for want of a better to designate both the reputation for socially approved behavior, and actual adherence to socially approved standards. The relationship between the two standards, of actual or apparent conventional morality, is fluid and complex. We have found it convenient, for the purposes of this study, to treat the two as separate entities. For, since people vary in their concepts of the norms appropriate to different status positions, any combination of status position with attitude toward norm of behavior will give a very different coloration to the resulting group.

There is also a question whether the two main criteria (social status and norm compliance) can in fact be separated from each other. While social class may be objectively measured by wealth and income, association with others on the same social level, and amount of prestige in the community, as people actually perceive it, may be a matter of style and behavior patterns. Richard Centers, studying the psychology of social class in America, found that people identified members of their own class by the way they believed and acted.* And the vindictiveness social classes sometimes display toward each other is often based on actual or purported misconduct of members of the other class.

Among American high school students, wealth is not the only, and perhaps not

*Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Class: A Study of Class Consciousness (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 89-93.

even the most important indicator of status. What they usually mean by "home background" appears to relate just as much to styles of living, which are, to be sure, contingent upon income levels and the family standing in the community. Race is clearly included, and so is, to some extent, ethnic origin. For many of the students, the area in which a family lives provides an important clue to their social status. Some young people, whose parents may be quite comfortable and even have a college education, suffer a loss of status if they are considered "farmers." These students, who are sometimes referred to as "bus kids," also tend to form a little society by themselves, because they share interests different from those of the city students. Distance often prohibits their participation in the social life of the school and the social activities of the students outside of school and, whether genuinely or not, they exhibit a preference for the traditional enjoyments of rural youth, such as horseback riding.

Just as important a status characteristic as home background is the student's orientation toward his own future status in society. The most obvious and widely accepted evidence for such orientations is the curriculum in which a student is enrolled. A great chasm separates those who are headed for college from those who are not, and future college students are bound together by a common, if vague, expectation of future status. Within the college-bound group there appear to be no further distinctions. It does not seem to matter what college a person plans to go to or what course of study he expects to follow. It is the status of college student, rather than a future profession or occupation, that makes the difference.

The norm compliance criterion for classifying student groups, while employed by all the students, nevertheless greatly differs in content according to the specific views of each individual. There are, in the first place, considerable differences in attitude toward what norms should be observed. These relate mostly to the permissibility of smoking and drinking, and to the amount of sex play that can be tolerated. For some students smoking and drinking are great sins, even if indulged in only moderately. For others, either smoking or drinking, or both, present no problem at all. Sexual intercourse among teenagers is regarded as objectionable by nearly all of our informants, yet there appeared to be considerable variation in the amount of moral indignation attached to such a practice and in views regarding the permissibility of various amounts of "necking" and "petting."

A second version of the norm compliance standard appears to relate more to the maintenance of a good reputation than to the actual observance of norms. Failure to keep up appearances is regarded as an unforgivable faux pas, showing a lack of poise and good taste.

Some further evidence of the importance of the status and norm compliance criteria comes from data gathered in Communities B and C, when formal instruments were employed. In these two schools, respondents were asked "how many groups of friends" they had. Those who indicated more than one group were then questioned about the ways in which these groups differed from each other. The answers had to be written in and can be considered as fairly free responses, although some possible response categories were suggested to respondents in a parenthetical note following the question itself ("Mention interests, backgrounds, ideas of right and wrong"). The categories into which the students' answers were classified, together with the percentages of students mentioning each at least once, are shown in Table 2.2

TABLE 2.2

DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS' FRIENDSHIP GROUPS

Per cent of respondents mentioning each. Those reporting participation in two or more groups and giving classifiable responses only.

	Community B N = 259	Community C N = 229
Activities (interests in sports, social life, etc.)	65.3%	71.9%
Situs (neighborhood, together in classes, same lunch period, lockers, etc.)	32.0	30.7
Status (home background, better or less well off)	22.4	17.0
Norms (ideas of right and wrong, morals, "faster")	21.6	16.2
Traits (intelligence, "personality," poise, etc., of members)	12.7	26.2
Affectivity (friendlier group, closer friends)	10.8	9.2
Beliefs (religion, politics)	7.9	7.4
Race	3.9	.4

In evaluating these figures it must be remembered that the students were not asked to mention the criteria whereby they draw distinctions between types of informal groups, particularly between those they belong to and those outside their own circle of friends. Rather, these categories describe the differences they see between groups with which they feel in some sense identified. No wonder, then, that "activities" and "situs" draw the heaviest proportions of responses. Most students do not belong to groups that are different in any fundamental sense, and "different" groups are distinct only in that different people belong to them, often for fortuitous reasons. Norms and status do, however, rank immediately after activities and situs as distinguishing criteria in Community B. "Personality" (traits) ranks nearly as high as status in the much smaller Community C, where social relations are generally seen in a much more personal light and differences in norms are much less frequent and visible than in B. Possibly, reference to traits is an indirect way of alluding to either status or norms.

The application of the status and norm-compliance criteria yields, in the larger cities, four different strata, whereas only three appear to exist in the smaller towns. In the larger communities there are two upper strata, both of which come from high-status homes, the first being norm compliant while the second is not. The "wild" or "fast" students whose parents belong to the upper socio-economic status groups tend to display amused contempt for those who insist on the observance of social norms. In return they reap the disapproval of the "slower" crowds. The "faster" students of good socio-economic background seem to come from somewhat wealthier families than the "slower" students.

An important difference between these two types of groups is that the "slower" students are school-oriented, whereas the others are not. The "faster" high-status groups do not participate in extracurricular activities. The high-status "slower" students, particularly girls, go in heavily for these activities and tend to assume complete control of those clubs and committees which they consider strategic. In the smaller communities, there appears to be only one upper stratum, which tends to be dominated by the "slower" students from good home backgrounds.

There are, of course, important distinctions even within the strata. Some groups are more popular than others, and the amount of popularity is said to depend on the "personality," the "poise" of the participants. Where this social savoir faire comes from,

whether or not it is fostered by the families, is a matter we are unable to decide. The not-so-popular groups among the upper strata form small circles of friends who are much less visible in the life of the school and participate less in its formal activities.

The lower socio-economic strata, those who will not go to college, are also divided by the amount of norm compliance. Boys belonging to the low-status norm compliant groups are sometimes referred to as "the shop crowd," but no special name appears to exist for the girls in this stratum. The boys and girls in the low-status group who are not norm compliant are usually called "hoods," and sometimes by more picturesque names such as "swamps." About the patterns of social activities among these low-status crowds we could learn very little in our interviews.

Social distinctions in the high school are accompanied by a certain amount of vindictiveness. Members of the upper-status groups, when asked what types of students would not be welcome among their friends, are usually quite explicit in indicating that those outside their own status group and those whose moral views are less rigid than their own would probably prefer to stay away and would not be accepted anyhow. Moreover, the high-status groups tend to think of themselves as "smart," and are often so regarded by others. Indeed, it is generally assumed that the members of these groups will receive fairly good grades, a B average being considered the norm. Low and high B's are acceptable, but a C is below their dignity and an A looks a little too much like serious scholarship. For the significance of good grades is not that they demonstrate scholastic ability and interest, but rather that they show aptitude in dealing with a challenge and thus a potential for leadership. A B average demonstrates that the student can handle himself in the classroom and during tests just as he can in social life. The choice of curriculum has the same significance; the college-bound students look down upon those in the vocational curricula, not because of any greater intrinsic worth of the instruction they are receiving, but because students in the business and shop curricula are taking "easy" courses. Thus, above-average performance in school is considered a status attribute, not a matter of intellectual enrichment.

As to compliance with norms, those who adhere to them tend to display similarly discriminatory attitudes toward those who do not. When asked to describe the activities of groups of lower status, students in norm compliant groups tend to ascribe "hoody"

behavior to those they regard as below themselves. Frequently these descriptions are based on no observation whatsoever, but are merely assumptions. A striking example of this was the report of a norm compliant male student about "girls who date out of town." When asked why these girls were dating boys from other towns, he answered darkly there was no reason for the girls' doing this if they weren't engaged in activities that they would not want people in town to know about. He himself had never had an occasion to observe the girls on dates, nor did he know anything about the boys they were dating.

The function of the two types of norm compliance -- actual adherence to norms and maintenance of good appearance -- is to affect social mobility. In order to advance from the lower to the higher status groups, a student must demonstrate actual adherence to the norms the higher groups consider evidence of propriety -- whether or not they themselves actually practice them. Only thus can he or she gain the confidence of the upper-status girls who set the tone of the social life of the high school. On the other hand, those of higher socio-economic status are not likely to lose position merely by non-compliance with social norms. They do, however, run a considerable risk if they are so indiscreet that their delinquency becomes a matter of record. Thus, in one of the larger communities we visited, the sororities maintained their position in the highest stratum for a long time even though some of their members were known to be rather generous with their affections. But when two successive presidents of one sorority had to leave school because of pregnancy, the reputation of the sororities was ruined, and they lost position in the prestige hierarchy.

These conclusions which we have drawn from the preliminary interviews about the stratification of the high school are supported by data which we gathered subsequently in Community A. In this school, students indicated how well a person would fit into their own group if he had certain characteristics listed as questionnaire items. The items, together with the responses, are shown in Table 2.3.

These responses clearly reflect middle class standards, with an emphasis on "personality," clothes, social skills and "leadership." Few students dare to register their protest by admitting that they associate with people who prize commitment to friends higher than approval by teachers. Yet, for most students discretion -- keeping quiet about "private" matters -- rates almost as high as a "nice personality." The high

TABLE 2.3

TRAITS MAKING STUDENTS ACCEPTABLE OR UNACCEPTABLE IN INFORMAL GROUPS

Percent giving various response to the question: How well would each of the things in the list below make a person fit in with your personal friends?	He would fit very well	He would probably fit	It wouldn't make any difference	He might not fit	He would not fit at all
A leader in school activities	32.4	24.7	38.9	4.2	1.9
Socially smooth and poised	33.5	29.4	25.3	19.7	2.1
A nice, friendly personality	79.2	14.5	5.3	1.5	0.0
Knowing how to stir up a little excitement	38.9	25.3	15.9	14.8	5.1
A good dresser	47.1	19.7	31.7	1.3	4.2
Active in church	40.8	20.6	34.6	1.9	2.1
Well liked by teachers	29.4	21.0	40.1	7.4	2.1
Bright about practical things, even if not getting high grades	39.3	33.7	22.8	3.4	0.8
Very high moral standards	40.9	31.1	43.5	7.1	1.3
Interest in doing new and different things	54.7	23.3	12.1	1.7	0.2
Getting good grades	34.6	23.3	38.5	3.2	4.3
Putting loyalty to friends ahead of teachers and school officials	40.0	23.8	25.5	18.3	3.5
A well-to-do family	13.7	18.0	60.2	6.2	1.9
Interested in athletics	40.5	23.0	33.5	2.1	0.9
Strongly opposed to smoking & drinking	37.9	20.0	24.3	9.2	9.6
Sticking with others, even if teachers and school officials don't approve	12.5	18.4	27.4	30.3	11.4
A leader in social activities outside school	35.0	24.5	34.6	4.1	1.8
Trying mostly to please parents, his own or others	28.1	27.0	25.9	17.4	1.5
Able to put up a good front, no matter what happens	23.6	29.6	27.4	14.0	5.9
Able to keep quiet about private matters	72.9	31.3	11.6	1.7	0.4

TABLE 2.4
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CHARACTERISTICS WHICH MAKE
A STUDENT ACCEPTABLE TO OTHERS

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
11 A leader in school activities	469																		
12 Socially smooth and poised	319	245																	
13 A nice, friendly personality	019	057	046																
14 A good dresser	224	254	180	142															
15 Active in church	389	280	283	-096	284														
16 Well-liked by teachers	391	288	291	-072	317	506													
17 Bright about practical things, even if not getting high grades	161	092	243	033	191	233	241												
18 Very high moral standards	340	323	291	-056	185	314	365	234											
19 Getting good grades	226	216	255	103	096	184	219	171	347										
20 Putting loyalty to friends ahead of teachers and school officials	393	302	246	-009	271	368	423	153	363	287									
21 Interested in athletics	003	045	010	182	186	-078	-015	138	047	086	060								
22 A well-to-do family	117	197	096	131	287	105	197	102	078	103	269	182							
23 Interested in doing new and different things	232	076	124	195	256	206	135	209	067	102	219	121	239						
24 Strongly opposed to smoking and drinking	215	179	206	-111	071	260	283	096	354	163	222	-057	055	139					
25 Sticking with others, even if teachers and school officials don't approve	103	031	-049	221	071	-118	-158	090	-099	037	-087	372	184	120	100	26			
26 A leader in school activities outside school	469	357	228	-029	254	403	333	155	351	310	415	012	169	264	316	-048	27		
27 Trying mostly to please parents, his own and others	427	146	157	013	175	225	254	150	208	253	162	-021	123	156	127	030	245	28	
28 Able to put up a good front, no matter what happens	051	086	026	186	199	662	154	088	091	092	024	188	196	059	048	153	106	160	29
29 Trying mostly to please parents, his own and others	065	134	245	080	174	121	220	244	223	320	207	142	105	142	150	095	221	186	205

percentage of students feeling that those "able to keep quiet about private things" are eminently acceptable as friends is particularly remarkable since this item is similar in wording, and was deliberately placed next to, the much less popular item dealing with the ability to "put up a good front." Generally, items dealing with keeping up appearances will be endorsed by sizable numbers of students as long as disobedience or disregard of authorities is not specifically mentioned.

The relationship of the items to each other yields rather interesting insights into the criteria of social judgment employed by the students. Correlations computed between all items appear in Table 2.4. (Decimal points have been omitted.) A clearer view of the relationships between these items emerges from Figure 2.A. This diagram has been constructed in the following manner: If a given item, K, has its highest correlation with some other item, L, then a single solid-line arrow is drawn from K to L. If the highest correlation of an item, M, is with item N, and at the same time the highest correlation of item N is with item M, then a double arrow is drawn between these two items. This operation yields three clusters of items, such that no item in any given cluster has its highest correlation with any item in any other cluster. In our diagram, borders have been drawn around these clusters of items.

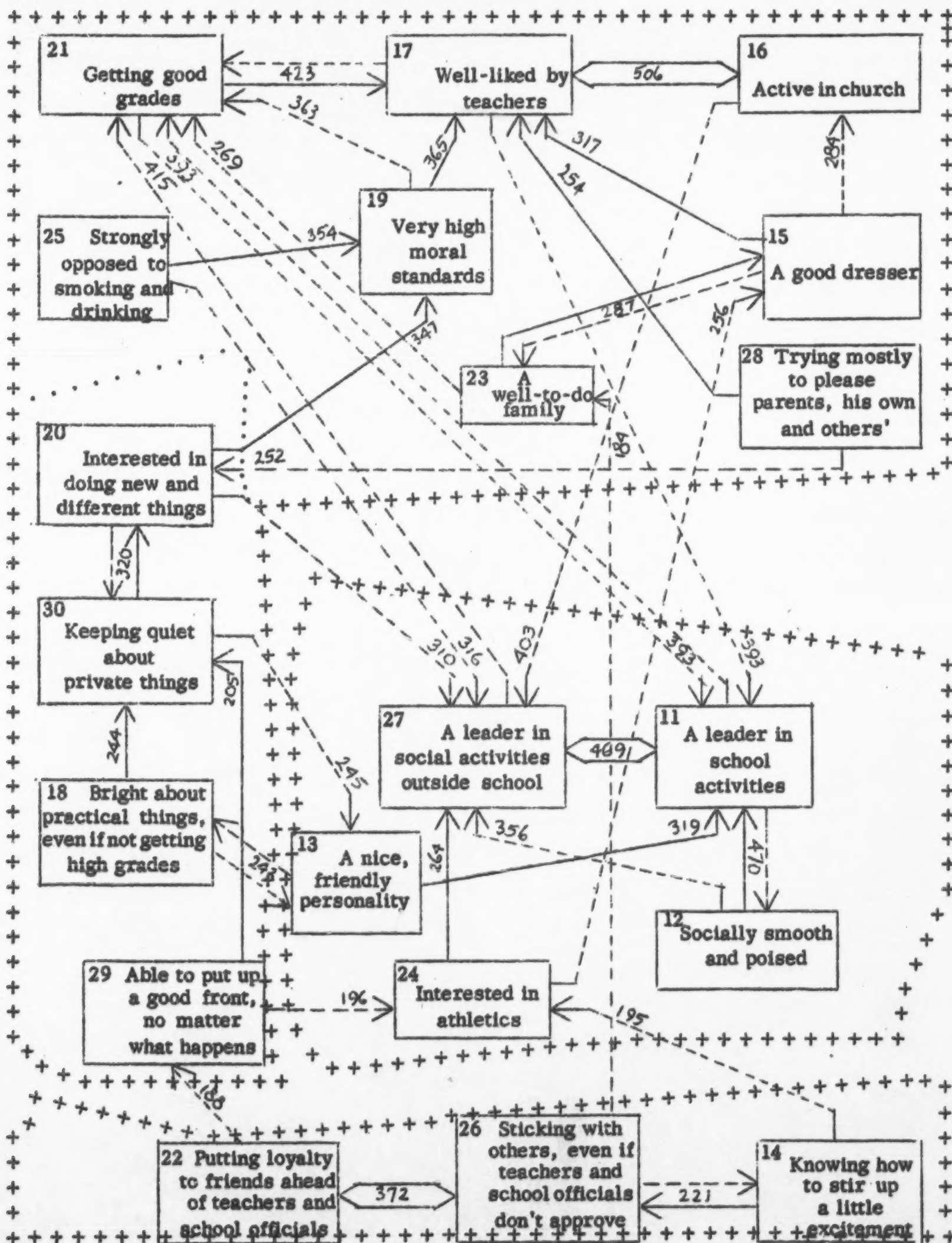
In order to give some impression of the solidity of these clusters of items and, at the same time, the connections between clusters, broken-line arrows have been drawn in to show the second largest correlation of each item. Where the second largest correlation of an item coincides with the largest correlation of some other item, a dotted arrow has been drawn alongside the solid arrow; for these items, the third highest correlation is also shown by a broken-line arrow pointing to some other item.

Before we attempt to interpret these correlations, a few words of caution are in order. It will be noticed that the first cluster, at the top of the diagram, contains a set of items that appear in sequence on the original questionnaire. Thus, the responses seem to be affected by a certain amount of response-set. Response-set alone does not, however, explain the clusters, inasmuch as other sequential arrangements of items would clearly have been possible. A second caveat concerns the differences between the highest and the second highest correlations which, for many items, are rather small, so that the exclusive use of the highest correlation might give erroneous impressions of the rigidity of the

FIGURE 2.A

CORRELATION GRAPH

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clusters. This difficulty has been partially remedied by the addition of the second highest correlations.

The three major clusters may best be designated as "conformist," "activist," and "non-conformist." However, the block tentatively designated as "conformist" is clearly heterogeneous. The four items making up the lower left-hand corner of the cluster ("interested in doing new and different things," "able to put up a good front, no matter what happens," "keeping quiet about private things," and "bright about practical things, even though not getting good grades") seem to have little, if anything, to do with the other items in the cluster. The only reason for the inclusion of this group of four items in the "conformist" cluster is the correlation between item 20 ("interested in doing new and different things") and item 19 ("very high moral standards"). These items appeared next to each other in the questionnaire, and their correlation is probably due largely to response-set. A further reason for suspecting that these four items do not really belong with the first cluster is that their second highest correlations are all with items in the second cluster. If this set of 20 items had been subjected to a factor analysis, four factors would probably have turned up: a conformity factor, an autonomy factor (the four items in the lower right-hand corner of the first cluster), an activity factor, and a non-conformity factor. Items with high loadings on the autonomy factor would probably also have loaded on the conformity and activity factors (note, by reference to Table 2.3, that some of the higher correlations of these items are with "getting good grades" and with "very high moral standards").

While the combinations of items within clusters hardly require any explanation, it is interesting to observe the relationships between clusters as shown by the second highest correlations (represented by dotted arrows). The two starter items in the conformity cluster ("active in church" and "well liked by teachers") have correlations of about .4 with the two starter items in the activity cluster. The relationship between "active in church" and "a leader in social activities outside school" may mean that many youth activities in the community are church-dominated or that the students perceive these to be the most important formal activities outside school. The relationship between "well liked by teachers" and "a leader in school activities" suggests that leaders in school activities are viewed and view themselves as norm-compliant. This impression is

reinforced by the second highest correlations of both starter items in the activity cluster with "getting good grades." At the same time, the connections between the activity cluster and the autonomy sub-cluster leave the impression that the activity leaders are perhaps a bit more interested in creating the right kinds of impression than in actually complying with strict norms of behavior. The first does not, of course, exclude the second.

If we consider the items with which the largest numbers of other items have the highest and second highest correlations, we find that they are: "well liked by teachers," "getting good grades," "a leader in school activities," and "a leader in social groups with which they are acquainted."

The main purpose of the foregoing discussions was to explain the development of the criteria of distinctions between groups used by members of the culture in which these groups exist (see Chapter 1, pages 17-19). We have found that these criteria relate both to social status and norm compliance, and that orientation toward the school as a social institution appears to be a related criterion. We have found that it is occasionally necessary to make distinctions between actual adherence to social norms and the maintenance of proper appearances. These criteria will therefore have to be applied when we try to distinguish between the cliques to which a student belongs and assign to him a pluralism score based on the discrepancies between such cliques.

Before we proceed with the discussion of our research methodology, some additional remarks bearing on the issue of "adolescent culture" may be appropriate. The information we have drawn from the preliminary interviews and the questionnaire responses in School A do not support the notion of a basic opposition between the orientations of young people and those of the school. Quite to the contrary, the young people seem to be conforming with, or at least taking their cues from, the adults who have the responsibility for their guidance. If they regard grades in school as a means of documenting their ability to handle themselves in challenging situations and to assume positions of leadership, they are merely reflecting the attitudes of home and school. The American high school does not reward students for scholarship or creativity, but

for the ability to do correctly and exactly what has been demanded. Since grades of A are given for tests and assignments containing few or no errors, there is no incentive to go beyond the assigned task. Achievement, thus, becomes nothing more than the ability to accept a challenge and to complete a task satisfactorily.

In a "bull session" we had with the students in School C after they had been individually interviewed, we raised the question how they could possibly engage in so many activities and at the same time get fairly decent grades. The answer, given by several different students in slightly different words, was that they were able to "budget their time" and thus to satisfy the large number of demands made upon them. This ability to handle themselves in a variety of situations was described as "leadership." The only protest came from a girl who was an excellent student with attractive features and much social "poise" and who, in the individual interview, had expressed her dissatisfaction with the steady round of useless "activities" in which she and her friends were involved. She pointed out that any reasonably intelligent student could get away without doing any homework worth mentioning, that it was possible to prepare for each period during the period preceding it, and that most of the activities demanded neither brains nor courage. Her statement quite evidently had a chilling effect, since most of the student leaders had persuaded themselves of their own ability to achieve. The same girl had indicated previously that she had participated in school activities only in order not to disappoint her parents. She was impatiently awaiting the end of her senior year, and she was planning to go to a girls' college in which non-scholastic activities were frowned upon.

This episode makes a point which appears to have been overlooked in much of the current writing on the culture of the high school students: the value orientations of the young people are those of the parents and teachers. The fake-achievement pattern which treats committee participation as a substantial contribution to society is an integral part of our civilization. It is particularly the pattern of the "localities" -- to use Robert K. Merton's term* -- who must utilize their "personalities" in order to make a living and

* Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, revised and enlarged edition (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 393-405.

achieve standing in the community. The high school, thus, replicates a pattern which is rather common in the adult world. It is the pattern of the small town businessman or professional, oriented to the local community and largely oblivious of any broader and more challenging goals. It is the pattern of the non-producer, of the distributor of goods and the provider of services, whose ingenuity consists primarily in the exploitation of human relations.

Adolescent culture therefore is not, as James S. Coleman would have us believe, a culture apart from that of the adult world. It mirrors rather accurately a segment of that world. The young people are not arrayed against the school, a citadel of scholarship. For the school is no such citadel. It is therefore not necessary to manipulate adolescent culture in such a way that it will become supportive of the intellectual values of the school. Rather, adolescents are already supporting, and taking their cues from, the schools which -- with the exception of a very few institutions and programs -- neither further nor reward scholarship. If changes are to be made, if serious learning is to be fostered among young people, it might be a first and major objective to give the schools and the teachers a more scholarly attitude. If rewards were given for genuine scholarly achievement, perhaps the young people would accept that challenge too.

D. DIFFERENCES IN COMMUNITY CLIMATE

In addition to the influence of peer groups, the political orientations of students may also be affected by the community of which the school is a part -- the prevalent values and the relations of groups and individuals to each other. The accounts of differences in community climates, which we will give below, are based upon the initial informal interviews as well as upon the more formal interviews which we held in the six communities.

As might be expected, the three smaller communities display more "community spirit" than the larger ones. This appears to be closely reflected in the amount of "school spirit" that the students display. One of the reasons that the school community in the smaller cities is so closely knit is that students tend to have known each other for a large number of years. They have all gone through junior high school together, and the smaller geographical area facilitates contacts. In Community A the junior high school is located in the same building as the high school itself, so that there is no real break between these

two levels of secondary education.

Community E, the smallest of the six, is characterized by a widely shared conservative outlook on life. The community and the young people are strongly church-oriented. There are many close friendship groups, often established according to neighborhood proximity. Socio-economic distinctions are perhaps not quite as important as in other towns, and there is a correspondingly greater opportunity for social mobility. Sports play a considerable role in the life of the school and help to tie the students together. The most important distinction is between those who live in town and those who come in to school from the outlying rural districts. A second distinction is made between the norm compliant students and the "swamps."

In Community C, community orientation and school spirit are similarly important. But social distinctions are perhaps made a little more sharply than in Community E. Among the upper groups there is widespread awareness of the students' future role as community leaders, and there are more community-oriented activities. These orientations are fostered and supported by the adults -- for instance, by a Junior Rotary program which rewards not only the children of Rotarians but also an occasional few students from the lower socio-economic ranks who are considered worthy of cooptation. Sports play a considerable role in this community, and many competitions and projects serve to induce among students an avid striving for social distinction.

Community A used to be rather similar in character to Communities E and C. During the last two decades, however, it has acquired a variety of small- and medium-sized industries, and there has been a considerable influx of workers from other regions of the country. The school is now 22% Negro. The white and Negro communities exist as separate entities, not coming into much contact with each other. The Mexican students, of which there are a few, do however mix with the whites. The influx of outsiders has, without any doubt, accentuated social distinctions. Both the white and the Negro groups are rather finely stratified. Groups of white students are stratified not only according to socio-economic status but also on the basis of grade levels. This does not hold true for the Negroes, whose stratification simply follows socio-economic lines; differences in social status based on parents' occupation and education seem to coincide as well with the length of the families' residence in the community. This stratification allows the children

of the older and more respected Negro families to demonstrate their social superiority and to participate in more formal school activities.

Community F is the smaller of two twin cities dominating a sizable metropolitan complex. A variety of industries is located in the area. The presence of many Negroes as well as several ethnic minority groups makes for both variety and divisions in the community. While the number of lower class, non-conforming students is larger than in the three communities thus far discussed, they do not constitute any real problem. The upper socio-economic groups are more finely divided in Community F than they are in the smaller cities. Thus, there is an "upper wild" group of children from good backgrounds who get poor grades and engage in a certain amount of anti-social behavior. Distinctions between college-bound and vocational students are very sharp.

Community B shows even more severe signs of social tension than Community F. This is an industrial city which forms part of a large metropolitan complex. Racial tensions are simmering and there are occasional outbreaks of violence. Sports are important, but since the football team has become almost entirely Negro, this sport no longer plays its traditional role. Basketball has tended to become correspondingly more important to the students and to the white community, but participation in the varsity team does not carry the amount of prestige that it usually has in other communities. Because of the underlying tensions, the administration has had to resort to a fairly steady policing of student activities. Social distinctions are rather sharp and are reflected in the school, where the home rooms are segregated by curriculum.

Community D is the largest of the six communities, but it is not subject to such serious tensions as those in Community B. Negroes constitute only 10 per cent of the population, but there are various nationality groups such as Latvian and Dutch. An unknown number of Southern whites have recently migrated into the community, and are disliked by Negroes and whites alike. Of all the schools observed in this study, that of Community D approximates perhaps most closely the characteristics of the big city school. In addition to the central high school where our study was conducted, there is a second public high school in a more residential area, and there are two parochial and one university high school. The friendship groups of young people are not limited to the central high school, and often appear to be constituted on the basis of city sections which correspond

roughly to socio-economic, racial, and ethnic divisions. Many friendship groups appear to persist from junior high school, and thus reflect residential areas. One of the five junior high schools has a reputation of its own and to have attended there remains a mark of distinction even in high school. As a corollary to these find differentiations of students into socio-economic and geographical groups, we find a minimum of "school spirit." Student groups tend to be small and clannish and often bear no relationship to the school as such.

III. CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF COMMUNITIES

When the preliminary studies were completed, we selected Communities A, B, C, and D as sites for the administration of our instruments. The criteria of selection were the following: (1) size of the community and the school population, (2) heterogeneity of the school population, (3) strength of community and school spirit and (4) distance from Michigan State University.

Community E was eliminated because it was too homogeneous, in many respects too similar to Community C and somewhat harder to reach from the University. A like choice had to be made between Communities F and B, which were similar in many respects. The choice went to Community B primarily because of geographical convenience.

Community A was particularly interesting to us because it was a town in transition which displayed both community spirit and a great deal of social and racial heterogeneity. The school also had the advantage of relative smallness -- there are only slightly more than 500 students in the upper three grades -- and of being the only high school in town. Thus, we could expect much of the social life of the students to be school-centered, and the school seemed for this reason particularly desirable as a locale for testing instruments designed to isolate cliques and give insight into the associational structure. The relative smallness of the school was convenient because instruments dealing with clique structure cannot be administered on a sample basis. As in all sociometric and similar techniques, the choices of all members of a particular universe must be included. We therefore planned to test our structure instruments in School A first, and to do the final test in both a smaller and a larger community. In order to test the reliability of the instrument, we decided to subject School A to two successive tests. Thus, Schools A and D were both included in the second administration. Table 2.5 summarizes

TABLE 2.5
SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF SCHOOL POPULATIONS
COMMUNITIES A, B, C AND D

	A 1st admin- istration	A 2nd admin- istration	D	B	C
Number of students in school	503	488	1209	1450	495
Number in sample	503	488	1209	533	495
Grade: % in 10th grade	42.3	42.4	38.8	43.2	39.2
% in 11th grade	29.8	29.7	32.7	32.1	32.7
% in 12th grade	27.8	27.9	28.4	24.4	27.5
Race: % white	78.1	78.0	88.6	75.0	98.8
Occupation of main breadwinner:					
% Professional & managerial	28.0	17.0	7.8	18.2	20.0
% White collar	9.3	5.9	13.4	11.3	10.1
% Skilled and farm	19.7	13.6	3.8	16.1	26.5
% Unskilled	36.4	41.2	53.7	45.6	33.5
Plans after school:					
% College	40.5	47.5	45.1	41.3	46.9
% Trade or business school	18.3	20.7	10.6	20.1	10.1
% Job	11.5	12.0	21.2	17.1	21.0
Father's education:					
% High school finished or more	69.0	67.2	66.7	73.4	70.9
Mother's education:					
% High school finished or more	71.4	71.1	69.6	75.8	71.5
Occupation aspired to:					
% Professional & managerial	45.3	48.9	38.6	56.3	49.2
% White collar	9.3	9.2	8.1	11.6	8.7
% Blue collar	10.9	9.0	15.9	9.7	15.6
Social mobility:					
% Up	42.9	52.0	36.6	35.3	46.1

some of the characteristics of the four communities that were selected for our tests. The most important differences between them are racial composition, the relative sizes of the various occupational layers, and social mobility. The proportion of non-whites varies between nearly 0 and 25%. Community D has the smallest number of parents in the professional and managerial groups and, correspondingly, the largest number in the unskilled group. In this city, the white-collar group, consisting of salesmen and clerks, is particularly large. The figures on occupations should, however, be taken with a certain amount of caution. The percentages for the first questionnaire administration in Community A and in Communities B and C were obtained from the students' questionnaires. During the second wave of interviewing we obtained the occupational data from the school records in Communities A and D. It seems that students tend to report their parents' job level as slightly higher than it actually is, if the school records are to be trusted. Since these records are not always up-to-date -- in Community A, where the junior high school and high school are located in the same building, they may be as much as 6 years old -- there may have been a certain amount of upward job mobility since the parents' occupations were recorded. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the data for Community A obtained from the two sources seem to reflect the desire of the students to put their parents' occupation in a good light. It is therefore likely that the data for Communities B, C, and D also err on the high side of the job hierarchy.

Social mobility is, in part, a function of the job ratings, since it was obtained by comparing the occupations reported for the parents with those which students hoped to have ten years hence. It would appear that mobility, so defined, is considerably higher in the smaller than in the larger communities.

IV. SCHEDULE OF FIELD ADMINISTRATIONS

With the communities thus selected, the field work was carried out as follows:

Toward the end of November, 1961, the first instrument, designed to yield insights into the clique structure of the school, was administered in Community A. Two versions of an attitudinal instrument dealing mainly with orientations toward conflict and interest in public affairs were administered in the beginning of December in Communities B and C. A sample of approximately one third of the total school population was used in B, and the entire school population in C. The paper-and-pencil instruments were immediately

followed by interviews in Communities A and B, the former dealing with the characteristics of cliques and formal groups in that community, and the latter attempting to probe more deeply into the young peoples' orientations toward public affairs. As soon as the interviewing of students in B had been completed, their parents were also interviewed. Many of the questions in the interview for parents were identical to those administered to their children. The purpose of this procedure was to ascertain the extent to which political orientations were shared by parents and children.

Soon after the completion of this first wave of paper-and-pencil tests and interviews, we began a series of small pretests to modify and improve the instruments. Groups of between 30 and 80 students in various schools in the Lansing area and in youth organizations were used for this purpose. The final instruments, combining the structure and orientation items, we then administered in the beginning of April in Communities A and B.

CHAPTER 3

THE INSTRUMENTS

The task of instrument development which we have set ourselves in this study called for a certain amount of innovation. So far as we know, no one had thus far attempted to analyze people's orientations toward conflict, let alone to develop diagnostic procedures. The problem of describing social participation in such a way that the pluralism of each individual's involvements could be assessed was similarly unexplored. In the course of this study, both of these problems were approached gradually by trial and error. If, in retrospect, the errors appear rather gross and certainly avoidable, we can only argue that the progress of every science seems to be marred by egregious mistakes. In view of the novelty of our attempt, it may be worthwhile to trace the steps in the development of our instruments and to give the reasons which motivated the various formulations and modifications. We will not attempt to justify every item or block of items included in our questionnaires, but will discuss only the focal portions of the instruments.

I. DESIGN OF INSTRUMENTS FOR THE STUDY OF ORIENTATIONS TOWARD CONFLICT

The development of instruments for the study of conflict orientations requires, in the first place, some analysis of the term "conflict orientations" itself. At the outset we thought that some perceptions and some preferences were clearly involved -- perceptions of situations that typically lead to conflict, perceptions of typical outcomes, and preferences for certain kinds of outcomes. We therefore determined that the core of our questionnaire should consist of sets of items which might reflect these three types of conflict orientations.

Several practical problems presented themselves immediately. One cannot ask questions about conflict in general and expect to obtain meaningful answers. Nor would this have been desirable. For one of the objectives of this study is to deal with the displacement problem, and this is reason enough for suggesting to the subjects several different situations of conflict. Moreover, we were particularly interested in the possibility that conflict orientations in the sphere of personal relations are displaced upon public objects, and thus conflict situations in the area of public affairs had to be presented to the subjects. Yet, we knew that American high school students are not particularly well

informed or deeply involved in public affairs, so that we could not anticipate familiarity with policy issues facing the state or the nation. This forced us to select for study only the broadest kinds of issues, which everyone was likely to have heard of and which most were likely to have discussed at least occasionally. The issues which we chose for presentation in the first version of our instruments were racial conflict, labor conflict, conflict over taxation, and international conflict. Since time limitations prohibited confronting a student with all four, we set up two forms of the questionnaire, each containing two of the issues. In addition, each student was made to respond to a set of items relating to conflict between persons.

The general nature of the topics which we were led to broach with our respondents was likely to have considerable drawbacks. The vaguer the question, the vaguer the answers. And the more general and vague the total context of questions and answers the more likely is the intrusion of extraneous factors such as response-set or random checking due to lack of involvement. It is a common experience in social research that the more concrete the questions can be made, the more likely the respondent is to be involved and the less danger there is of distorted or meaningless answers.

The data to be presented below will show that our suspicion that the responses to the first form of the questionnaire were affected by response-set cannot be discarded. This response-set sometimes took peculiar form. Occasionally, but not always, items appearing next to each other in the questionnaire correlated more highly with each other than did most of the items in the set. Yet, as we will also show below, the pattern of correlations is not consistent enough to make us believe that response-set was a major influence affecting the answers of our subjects. In any event, it appeared that our items did not have sufficiently definite meaning to our respondents and did not involve them enough emotionally to overcome the effect of extraneous factors. Thus it appeared imperative to devise "stronger" items.

Since we knew that more concrete and specific situations, if presented to our respondents, would result only in our "losing" many of the students, we decided that, as much as possible, the items should allow the students to identify with one of the protagonists in each conflict situation. Thus, instead of talking about conflict between individuals in general, we now questioned them about conflict between young people and adults.

Similarly, instead of calling for expressions of views upon conflict between nations, we now made the students respond to the conflict between the United States and Russia. However, we were not able to adhere to this policy of making the student identify with one of the protagonists throughout the entire questionnaire. Very few students seem to identify with either labor or business, and quite a number of them identify with neither the Democrats nor the Republicans. With respect to inter-racial conflict, which we changed into conflict between whites and Negroes, identifications have become confused. The Northern white student apparently does not think of himself merely as white, but also as Northern. While he certainly does not identify with Negroes, he does not identify either with white people who fight the Negroes' bid for equality, because such people are conceived to be mostly Southerners.

A second means for making questions "stronger" was to state each of them in the form of two clearly opposed items. In each set of two items some behavior which may lead to conflict is ascribed to each protagonist in turn, and the student is asked to indicate whether either the first, the second, both, or neither of the two antagonists engage in this type of behavior. This format, which we retested extensively, seems to pose the questions more sharply because it presents the respondent with a choice. The format, further, has the added advantage of permitting us to analyze the respondents' tendency to consider only one of two antagonists the initiator of conflict, both of them, or neither.

With respect to preferences for various conflict outcomes, the items included in the first version of our instrument showed a rather low power of discrimination. As Table 3.1 (on page 68) shows, students tended to select the less violent and more humane solutions to conflict. While this general attitude toward conflict solutions is no doubt genuine, it is hard to believe it would manifest itself with almost equal strength in all types of conflict situations. In the second version of our instrument, we tried to be somewhat more realistic and present the student with a choice between adhering to principles and making compromises in the interests of peace. This technique resulted in a greater amount of variability in the responses to the five types of conflict situations.

The first version of the orientation instrument also contained additional sets of items designed to put conflict orientations into a more general context. In every conflict situation, each antagonist is striving for something or trying to hold a position.

three major types of activities: those engaged in for immediate gratification (e.g., spectator sports), those relating to the instructional program of the school and to future vocations, and those relating to the school or the student's home town as a community (e.g., student government, civic activities).

This classification is clearly a priori. But it has the virtue that it relates more closely than any other measure used in this study to the subjects' reference groups. Conceivably, there are connections between reference group behavior and experience in social participation.

B. INFORMAL PARTICIPATION

In developing instruments for the study of informal participation, our first concern was to obtain as accurate and complete a record of each student's contact with others as could be had in a minimum amount of time. We deliberately set aside the problem of processing such behavioral data once they were obtained, knowing full well that such processing would at best be difficult, and that considerable time would have to be spent in any event on the development of methods for interpreting the data and checking these methods. Had we restricted ourselves, to begin with, to the development of instruments for which processing methods already existed or could be developed rapidly, we could easily have made no progress at all.

It is possible to indicate, in principle, how each of the group-structure instruments we have developed should be interpreted. However, for want of time and a computer with a larger memory, only one system of analysis has been developed in detail. For this reason we will not be able to specify which of the several field methods we developed are likely to prove most fruitful.

We have used three approaches to the study of informal participation: (1) having respondents record specific instances of social experiences which they had during the period immediately preceding the test, (2) having respondents report the groups they perceive themselves to be members of, and (3) having respondents designate "friends" as is often done in sociometric studies.

It was our original intention to get as close as possible to the behavioral realities of student life by eliciting reports on actual social experiences. We thought that we would obtain trustworthy data only if we could induce the students to think about

specific instances or specific experiences in the recent past. While this belief is probably accurate, we nevertheless had to compromise our behavioral convictions in the course of the investigation. The data which were actually analyzed were the respondents' friendship choices. However, these friendship choices were not made in a vacuum, but in connection with the behavioral responses we were eliciting. Moreover, the methods of analysis developed for constituting friendship groups and describing their relations to each other could be equally applied to groups of individuals participating in the same types of activities, formal as well as informal. Such an analysis would yield as many sets of group-participation data and as many group-structure descriptions as the number of activities under investigation. A study of the group structures under these varying conditions and some consolidation of the data by means of averaging or some similar procedure is likely to yield highly reliable descriptions of clusters of individuals and of the relationships of the clusters to each other.

The first group-structure instrument which we developed (see Appendix A) reflects our concern with gaining behavioral data. The design of the instrument is such that it will first remind the student of individuals with whom he comes into frequent contact, and next of the specific recent occasions when such contacts have taken place. The respondent is instructed first to list as rapidly as he can the names of all the persons in his own age group with whom he has had recent contacts. If later on in the procedure the specific activities or occasions listed remind him of some other persons, they can be added at the bottom of the list. After the list of persons has been established, the student is then asked to check the names of those with whom he has had contact on various specific occasions. Each of these occasions or activities is listed on a separate tab which must be turned before the student can go on to the next occasion or activity. The occasions listed on each tab are those that seem most characteristic of student life. They were drawn largely from the informal student interviews which we had conducted previously in six of the high schools. Finally, the students are asked to designate those individuals they consider their personal friends.

This procedure yields a very large volume of data. For each respondent, one can set up a matrix in which the individuals with whom he associates are related to activities. An appropriate analysis procedure might yield a measure of pluralism which

does not require constituting the cliques and other informal groups to which the respondent belongs. By such a procedure, one might measure the extent to which the respondent participates in activities with the same or with different groups of people. The measure to be used might utilize information theory and reflect the amount of information and of the redundancy present in the matrix. We have not attempted to process the data in this fashion, because the cost of recording them on IBM cards or tape proved prohibitive.

In addition to the inventory of the respondents' associates and activities, the first version of the structure instrument contained a number of questions whose answers indicate the extent to which the respondent considers himself a member of a variety of informal groups or believes that the people with whom he associates are in some important way different from each other. Interviews with the students, held after the administration of the instrument, convinced us that this method is extremely unreliable. In picking respondents for the oral interviews we deliberately selected some who said they belonged to only one group and others who claimed membership in two or more groups. The interviews revealed that the students had only vague perceptions of the ways in which their social worlds might be divided. Some, in spite of fairly frequent contacts with several different groups of students, said they were members of a single group because that was the only one they identified with. Others believed they were members of several groups if the composition of the crowd attending the same regular event or party changed from time to time. Nor was there any clarity in their perceptions of what constituted similarities or differences between groups. As we pointed out in Chapter 2, the major criteria of distinction -- social status and norm compliance -- are customarily applied to strata within the school; students seem to be unable to use them for distinguishing between groups of specific individuals. Images of the social environment seem to be fairly clear from a distance, but the closer one gets to the actuality, the more the details arrest the eye, the more blurred the picture becomes.

In developing the second version of the structure instrument, the following requirements, therefore, had to be met: 1) The length of the instrument had to be reduced, since in its final version it had to be administered at the same time as the orientation instrument; questions calling for the student's own perceptions of the differences between

groups he belonged to could not be used. 2) Information had to be gained about group characteristics, since the students' perceptions of differences were not going to be available. After many pretests, trials, and errors, these requirements led us to adopt the second form of the instrument (also in Appendix A.)

In this form, the number of lines allowed for the listing of associates has been reduced from 60 to 20. For most students this restriction does not constitute a great loss, since few listed as many as 20 names on the first test. However, there were quite a number of very active students who had used all 60 lines on the first form of the questionnaire and could have gone on listing more people. During the pretest of the second form of instrument, we questioned subjects to learn whether they would have listed more names if more lines had been available. If they answered the question in the affirmative, we asked if they had omitted anyone who might have been important. In these conversations we satisfied ourselves that the very active students with a large number of acquaintances also tended to be rather methodical in filling out the questionnaire and that they deliberately selected from their circle only the people whom they regarded as most significant. We think, therefore, that the restriction of the list to 20 lines does not unduly distort the resultant image.

We also had to abandon the list of specific occasions and activities that had been used in the first form of the questionnaire. Instead we supplied four squares containing numbers from 1 to 20, and asked the respondents to circle the numbers that corresponded to the names of people who belonged to the same group. In order to ascertain what these groups had in common, what their main activity was, and how they reacted to social norms, we had the students rate each group named according to a set of items relating to activities and norm compliance. As in the previous form, the students were asked, further, to designate their personal friends.

As we have already indicated, our clique-detection procedures were based on these friendship choices. The students' ratings of groups according to interests and norm compliance were nevertheless used. After we had constituted cliques by the method described in Chapter 4, we matched them as closely as possible with the groups the students designated on their questionnaires by counting the people in each clique we constituted who appeared also as members of the groups designated by each student. For

all members of the same clique, we then took the ratings of the matched groups and computed a weighted average. The weights consisted of the proportions of individuals in the student-designated group whom we had assigned to a given clique. These weighted averages were then used as the interest and norm compliance scores of the cliques.

III. TECHNIQUES OF INSTRUMENT ADMINISTRATION

For each administration of our instruments the school authorities had made available one 50-minute class period. We did not attempt to obtain a longer time period, partly because we feared the effect of the resulting disruption in class schedules on the administrators' cooperation, and partly because we thought that, in future studies on a larger scale, 50-minute periods would probably be the norm.

We must admit, however, that this shortness of time created considerable difficulties in test administration. Since the instruments were of a type unfamiliar to the students, it was necessary to give oral explanations in addition to those printed on the questionnaires. Indeed, it would have been an advantage if the students had had a chance to fill out a practice page of the questionnaire as is customary with intelligence and similar tests. But in an exploratory study such as ours, when it is not known what types of items will yield the greatest payoff, reducing the length of the schedule to make room for more instructions and practice could result in a great loss of information. We resolved the problem by stationing in each classroom at least two, and if necessary more, monitors who could give additional explanations to students who did not understand the introductory remarks.

In spite of the relative lack of explanations, the students were generally able to follow the format of the questionnaire and to understand the language of the questions.

The greatest difficulties and the most confusion arose in the ranking of items according to their importance in the genesis of conflict. The second form of the orientation questionnaire contained five sets of questions (each set concerned with a specific conflict) which were made up of ten paired items per set. As can be seen in Appendix A, each pair consists of identical statements about the behavior or attitude attributable to the antagonists in the conflict, each component item of the pair designating one of the two. The students were asked to perform two separate operations: 1) They were to check either, both, or neither of each pair of items, and 2) they were to go back over the set they had checked and designate the three highest-ranking items or

pairs of items. This procedure was supposed to tell us which behaviors or attitudes the students felt were relevant to the origin or development of the conflict, and which (or neither or both) of the antagonists they considered the initiator of the conflict. The ranking of the three highest items or pairs of items was to let us know which of the behaviors and attitudes listed a student felt were the most likely sources of conflict.

While only a few of the students had trouble with the checking of the items, the ranking procedure required a great deal of further explanation. Despite this, only between 5 and 15 per cent of the respondents -- depending on item and school -- misconstrued our explanations and rated the items instead of ranking them. It is clear that one could reduce this percentage considerably if practice time were available.

Students of different abilities take, of course, different amounts of time to complete the questionnaire. In the first study in School A, and in the final administration in Schools A and B, the school administrations cooperated with us by making additional time available to allow the stragglers to complete their questionnaires. "Completion" did not, however, mean filling in or checking all of the questions. We had deliberately made the questionnaire considerably longer than an average student could manage in the amount of time available, in order to put some gentle pressure upon the students to work rapidly and to prevent problems of discipline at the end of the class hour when many would have completed their questionnaires and, for want of anything better to do, might begin to talk or indulge in horseplay. In the second wave of administration we considered a questionnaire completed if a student had gotten as far as Question 31 or Part 2. The remaining four and a half pages contained "bonus questions" which only the brighter students would be able to answer. Although no one who had gotten as far as Question 31 was asked to complete the questionnaire on the second day of administration, 79.5 per cent of the students in Community D and 76.6 per cent of those in Community A completed the entire questionnaire.

IV. METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Paper-and-pencil instruments are much more sensitive than interviews to various types of response error. Since there is no interviewer to direct the respondent's attention to the main objective of the question, to give additional explanations if the question was not understood and, generally, to make sure that the respondent's answer represents his attitude and is not due to extraneous causes, great attention must be paid to the

elimination of all possible sources of response error. In this section four types of response error will be discussed: a) response-set, b) the related errors which may be due to item direction, c) effects of item order, and d) randomness of responses, i.e., item reliabilities.

A. RESPONSE-SET

The term response-set is variously applied to three types of response tendencies: 1) a tendency to agree with every item that appears in an instrument, 2) a tendency to check the same response category on successive items, and 3) a tendency to check items according to some formal properties, such as length, grammatical or syntactic form, or occurrence of certain typical phrases, without paying attention to item content.

We will first discuss the last two of these response tendencies, since these are most likely to have affected our first orientation instrument used in Communities B and C. Table 3.1 shows the intercorrelation between all pairs of items dealing with reasons for conflicts between individuals. It will be noticed that more than half of the correlation coefficients above .20 appear next to the diagonal, i.e., they represent the relationships between adjoining items. Indeed, each item, except items 1 and 4, has its highest correlation with a neighboring item in the sequence. This observation suggests that respondents tended to persevere in checking items in the same manner once they had settled upon some preferred response category, but two further observations cast doubt upon this diagnosis: 1) If this type of response-set were fairly strong, one would expect correlations to increase slightly from the top to the bottom of the list, because respondents would become more and more set in their ways of checking; in our correlation chart, the high coefficients are -- to the contrary -- located both toward the top and at the bottom of the list; and 2) The notion of perseverance cannot be reconciled with the total absence of any relationship between items 4 and 5. The third type of response-set might, however, be invoked. It will be noticed that items 2, 3, and 4 invariably begin with the words "each is trying to . . ."; the first pair of items correlates rather highly, the other two pairs fairly well. Similarly, items 5 and 6, which both begin with the word "they," show some correlation. On this reasoning, the fairly high correlation coefficient between items 7 and 8 however, which are quite different in form, remains unexplained. Nor can it be entirely overlooked that the pairs of items which show above-average correlations

TABLE 3.1
Reasons for Conflict Between Persons
Correlations between all pairs of items, Communities B and C.

		1) Disagreement about money and possessions*		2) Each trying to prove he can beat the other		3) Each trying to prove he is superior to other		4) They have different ideas of right and wrong		5) They do not understand each other		6) Both are stubborn, won't change		7) Each is afraid giving in a little will give the other the upper hand	
04	12														
08	09	55	55												
10	02	16	24	22	29										
-04	09	-04	-04	00	-01	02	08								
01	02	-05	00	02	-01	04	01	22	13						
08	09	11	20	12	18	19	24	03	-03	20	15				
05	07	08	28	14	24	19	26	00	-04	09	11	41	35		

*These are abbreviated wordings of the items. For exact wordings, see questionnaire in Appendix E.

In each cell, top coefficient is for Community B, bottom coefficient for Community C. Decimal points omitted.

are psychologically close enough to each other to make the coefficients seem plausible. Items 2, 3, and 4 deal with three types of dominance relations. Items 4 and 5 refer to ideas and to failure in the transmission of ideas, and items 6 and 7 describe the unwillingness of combatants to abandon their positions. Still, the diagnosis of response-set cannot be entirely discarded.

If the correlation chart for reasons for conflict looks suspicious, the one for outcomes of conflicts -- shown in Table 3.2 -- does not. None of the higher correlations lie near the diagonal. And while two of the pairs of items introduced by the words "both of them" show sizable correlations, four other such pairs do not. We can think of no good reason why response-set should operate in one set of items and then cease to operate in the set immediately following it.

Four items relating to other types of conflicts -- over school integration, over taxation, between labor and management, and between nations -- shows somewhat similar characteristics. The complete set of correlation charts for these items has been inspected. None of these suggests response-set quite as strongly as did the chart shown in Table 3.1. In the charts relating to attributes and behavior conducive to advancement and to reasons for conflict, the higher correlation coefficients appear near the diagonal somewhat more frequently than one might expect. This is never the case in the charts dealing with outcomes of conflict.

While the evidence for response-set is by no means conclusive, our suspicion that it might have in some way affected our data was one of the reasons for adopting a new format for the questions dealing with perceptions of conflict. This new format is designed to eliminate response-set -- if there is such a predisposition -- by making the respondent shift back and forth from one antagonist to the other in a conflict situation. There are no similarities in the phrasing of items, except the names of the antagonists. It is possible to argue that a tendency to designate one antagonist rather than the other, or both of them, as being more active (by consistently checking one individual or social aggregate) can also represent a form of response-set. Yet, as will be seen in our further discussions, we consider such tendencies major components of conflict orientations. We believe, for instance, that a tendency to regard Russia or the United States as the more active side in the conflict between the two countries, or the tendency to designate both as active, are fundamental

TABLE 3.2

Outcomes of Conflict Between Persons
Correlations between all pairs of items, Communities B and C.

1) One convinces the other that he is right *							
2) One forces other to give in							
3) Both of them realize that giving in a little is easier than fighting							
4) Third person makes them stop							
5) Both of them too exhausted to continue							
6) Both of them realize there was a misunderstanding							
7) Both of them call someone in authority to settle it							
8) They get together and work it out							
09							
11	-10						
06	-05						
-04	14	-07					
-08	07	-05					
-06	13	-05	09				
-10	13	-13	21				
13	-15	36	-06	06			
12	-11	31	-04	-04			
00	00	-04	22	06	06		
03	-06	-06	23	12	13		
10	-11	33	-14	00	34	-01	
10	-09	40	-13	-16	33	08	

* These are abbreviated wordings of the items. For exact wordings, see questionnaire in Appendix E.

In each cell, top coefficient is for Community B, bottom coefficient for Community C. Decimal points omitted.

cognitive orientations toward this conflict. However, we will demonstrate below (Section IV, C) that this tendency, whether a fundamental cognitive orientation or response-set, is independent of item order. We suspect that responses due to response-set would be more easily affected by item order than individual cognitive orientations; and if this seems plausible, we would argue that a tendency to check one, the other, or both, of the antagonists does not reflect response-set.

A somewhat different case of possible response-set is presented in Table 3.3. This chart shows the intercorrelations between all pairs of items dealing with the advantages and disadvantages of "going around with people much like yourself." There seems to be some evidence both for the tendency to check items which are similarly worded and the tendency to check neighboring items, the former in the upper triangle (dealing with advantages) and both the former and the latter in the lower triangle (dealing with disadvantages).

The coefficients in the upper triangle clearly fall into two clusters. One of them consists of items 1, 4, 6, and 7, and the other of items 2, 3, 5, and 8. Among the four items in the first cluster, three begin with the words "helps to keep out." Of the four items in the second cluster, two are introduced by the phrase "helps to maintain." Again, it can be argued that -- aside from formal similarities -- the items that fall into the same cluster have some content similarities. The items in the first cluster refer to possible undesirable consequences of going around with people different from oneself, and the items in the second cluster emphasize the positive results of membership in a homogeneous group. In the lower triangle, while many of the items introduced by similar phrases show high correlations, some of them do not. The tendency for high correlations to occur near the diagonal is perhaps a little more evident. The correlations between items 2 and 4 to 8 would, however, support the notion that respondents have tended to check items which begin with similar phrases.

The smallest correlation coefficients are in the rectangle reflecting relationships between the first and the second group of items (those dealing with the advantages and disadvantages of a homogeneous group). This might also be cited as evidence for response-set. It might be argued that if items are at some physical distance from each other and dissimilar in wording, correlations go down. This latter argument strikes us as

THE INSTRUMENTS

TABLE 3.3
ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF GOING AROUND WITH PEOPLE
LIKE YOURSELF. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ALL PAIRS OF ITEMS,
COMMUNITIES B AND C

Disadvantages										Advantages									
26	30	24	22	17	13	25	20	30	26	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
24	24	24	22	17	13	25	20	30	26	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
22	22	22	22	17	13	25	20	30	26	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
17	17	17	17	17	13	25	20	30	26	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
13	13	13	13	13	13	25	20	30	26	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
25	25	25	25	25	25	25	20	30	26	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	30	26	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	26	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
09	09	09	09	09	09	09	09	09	09	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09
01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	27	26	23	30	31	20	22	08	13	09

(Decimals omitted)

rather doubtful, since it seems to imply that our respondents have no coherent orientations toward the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the groups with which they associate. From our interviews and from other evidence in this study we are convinced that this is not the case.

Still, the constellations of correlation coefficients in this chart (and in the chart based on the immigration items, (not shown here) was disturbing enough to call for a revision of the question. In its new formulation, the question not only reversed the direction of the introductory statements, but it also used items with differing polarities. The question continued to consist of two sets of items, but they were no longer divided as to advantages and disadvantages. The first set (of six items) merely suggests the notion of "going around with students who have the same background and ideas as yourself," whereas the second suggests going around with students of different backgrounds and ideas. Within each of these sets of six items, three propose positive and the other three negative consequences of the suggested situation. The effect of these reversals of item polarity will be discussed in the next section.

B. EFFECTS OF CHANGES IN ITEM POLARITIES

In the second version of the questionnaire, the questions dealing with orientations toward in-groups and with immigration were so designed that the respondent could not persist in checking the same response category on every item without seriously contradicting himself. For half of the items, an affirmative response reflected a favorable attitude toward restricting associations to members of the in-group. Affirmative responses on the other half of the items implied negative feelings about such exclusiveness. At the same time, there was also a change in the polarity of the introductory statements. The items were divided into two sets: the first proposed that the student associate primarily with people very much like himself; the second suggested that he associate primarily with people different from himself. The question concerning immigration paralleled in wording and structure the one on in-groups. The objective of this question structure was to combat response-set.

This question structure yielded quite unusual results. For all pairs of items, the chi-squares show some relationship above chance, and in most instances the probability that the two items are unrelated is extremely low. But the associations are

not always in the expected direction. Moreover, in many tables the direction of association is impossible to determine. Typically, frequencies pile up in the cells along both diagonals of the table and are low in the off-diagonal cells. A particularly striking example of this will be found in Table 3.4.

In this table the "pride" term ("you'll take more pride in your group of friends") can be regarded as "positive," since an affirmative response reflects positive in-group feelings. The other item ("you won't be forced to be like everyone else in the group") is "negative," in that an affirmation of it implies a position against associating exclusively with the in-group. There should, accordingly, be a negative relationship between the two items; the table clearly shows that this is the case in its comparison of the observed and theoretical frequencies. At the same time, however, a similar excess of observed over expected frequencies occurs in the principal diagonal. All the off-diagonal cells show observed frequencies below expectation.

Since the majority of the tables in this set were of similar form or at least approached it, we first thought that this must be the result of a tendency to check the same response category consistently. This is not the case. Examination of the original questionnaires reveals that only a very few respondents had consistently checked the same category or had tended at least to place their check marks on adjoining items; this very small number could not possibly account for the observed relationships. It therefore became necessary to investigate the item pairs which yield tables similar to the one presented above and see what differentiates these pairs from those yielding the more usual unidimensional relationship.

Since it is not practicable to reproduce the 132 bivariate tables (66 for each of the two cities) upon which this analysis is based, we show in Table 3.5 the complete set of correlations and chi-squares for School D. In each cell, the relation between the size of the correlation coefficient and chi-square suggests the nature of the relation between the two variables. In tables of the peculiar shape of Table 3.4, the correlation coefficient is always low because the two regression lines are almost at right angles to each other. Thus, in Table 3.5, a cell containing a low correlation coefficient and a high chi-square reflects a table

TABLE 3.4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TWO ITEMS DEALING WITH IN-GROUP FEELINGS
IN COMMUNITY D

Observed and Theoretical Frequencies on two items dealing with greater
"Pride" of Homogeneous Groups and with greater freedom from
compulsion "to be like everyone else" in Heterogeneous Groups

"Pride" in Homogeneous Groups

	Strongly agree		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	F _o	F _t	F _o	F _t	F _o	F _t	F _o	F _t	F _o	F _t
Strongly agree	5.0	4.6	3.0	3.9	2.0	5.9	6.0	6.3	13.0	8.3
Agree	2.0	6.1	6.0	5.3	7.0	8.0	15.0	8.5	9.0	11.2
Undecided	7.0	11.2	6.0	9.6	32.0	14.5	8.0	15.4	18.0	20.3
Disagree	19.0	20.8	27.0	17.9	25.0	26.9	38.0	28.7	23.0	37.8
Strongly disagree	38.0	28.3	19.0	24.3	26.0	36.7	31.0	39.1	66.0	51.5

Decimal points omitted; all chi-square values are significant at the .05 level.

All chi-square significant beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 3.5

Orientations Toward Associating with People of Student's own Background
Correlation coefficients and chi-squares (16 df) for all pairs of items
Community D

If you go around with students who have the same background and ideas as yourself:	If you go around with students who have different backgrounds and ideas from your own:										
	1) You'll avoid disagreements about what the group wants to do	2) You'll take more pride in your groups of friends	3) You'll miss out on knowing other interesting people	4) You'll have a more united group	5) You'll come to believe you and your friends are better than others	6) You'll end up distrusting people who are different	7) You won't be forced to be like everyone else in the group	8) You are likely to run into trouble between students who are well off and those who are less well off	9) You will be less narrow-minded	10) You might find yourself in the company of people with false and dangerous beliefs	11) You'll learn how to make friends with many different people
26 331	00 76	-17 85	-09 122	-05 104	52 739	12 175	06 263	04 200	18 270	09 299	08 179
20 191	30 300	-09 122	-05 104	52 739	12 175	06 263	04 200	18 270	09 299	08 179	08 179
-01 40	-16 103	31 254	08 206	52 739	12 175	06 263	04 200	18 270	09 299	08 179	08 179
16 155	11 113	07 125	08 96	07 151	12 175	06 263	04 200	18 270	09 299	08 179	08 179
-04 194	03 147	11 197	02 159	07 155	04 156	06 263	04 200	18 270	09 299	08 179	08 179
05 76	04 116	03 115	10 145	15 210	16 166	29 352	04 200	18 270	09 299	08 179	08 179
02 68	-01 78	17 161	06 119	09 165	10 124	04 159	18 270	09 299	08 179	08 179	08 179
07 94	10 140	03 97	10 109	07 168	06 166	30 348	12 235	29 357	08 179	08 179	08 179
-05 94	10 84	05 169	11 113	-07 119	-10 95	-12 160	21 189	-05 153	25 320	-01 181	-

Decimal points omitted; all chi-square entries are rounded to the nearest integer.

All chi-squares significant beyond the .001 level.

displaying the peculiar dual relationship we are discussing. Where both the correlation coefficient and the chi-square are high, we have a table reflecting a more or less linear relationship. Where both coefficients are low, the relationship is either low or non-existent.

In order to facilitate the reading of the chart, we have inserted plus and minus signs next to the item wordings. A plus sign means that an affirmative answer to the item denotes positive in-group feelings. Conversely, a minus sign means that an affirmative answer to the item denotes negative feelings toward exclusive in-group association. Examination of this correlation-and-chi-square chart shows that (1) correlations and chi-squares for items marked both plus or both minus tend to be higher than those for items marked with opposite signs; (2) high chi-squares and low correlations occur most frequently when both items are marked with opposite signs; and (3) as in the first form of this questionnaire chi-squares and correlations tend to be higher in the upper and lower triangles, where the items within a set are related to each other, than they are in the rectangle, where both sets of items are related to each other.

The only explanation we have been able to find for this phenomenon is that the items measure not one but two distinct variables: attitudes toward the in-group, and attitudes toward the exclusion of outsiders. A person who believes that association with people very much like himself will increase his own and his friends' pride in their group, make the group more united, and prevent disagreements within it, may nevertheless admit that this exclusiveness could prevent his knowing other interesting people, or agree with the proposition that those who mix with people different from themselves are less likely to be forced to be like everybody else. It will be noted, however, that the three positive items in the first set, while they relate fairly well with each other, do not relate strongly to the positive items in the second set. This lack of relationship is understandable if we assume the existence of the two independent variables just mentioned. The three positive items in the first set deal only with the in-group itself, with the relations of the people in it and their feelings about it. The positive items in the second set deal with a hypothetical situation wherein outsiders somehow enter the in-group. If the two sets of items thus relate to two different and independent variables, the association between them cannot be expected to be high.

The somewhat lower level of relations in the rectangle in which each item in one set is paired with each item in the other may be similarly explained. The statements introducing these two sets ("going around with people like yourself" and "going around with people different from yourself") must also relate to the two independent variables we have hypothesized. And if this is the case, we must expect an interaction effect between the formulations of the two variables within each of the sets and between them.

The phenomena just described are even more clearly evident in the chart of correlations and chi-squares for the immigration question, presented as Table 3.6. Here the coefficients relating to the same hypothesized variable are generally higher, and the separation between the two variables seems sharper. This probably occurs because both in-group feelings and feelings of exclusiveness are more easily expressed in the political area than in the personal. What could be construed as clannishness and snobbishness on the personal level can pass for pride in one's country and opposition against its enemies on the other. Thus, four possible types emerge: 1) those who have a strong need for group or national unity and at the same time reject outsiders; 2) those who, while also insisting on unity, have no particular animus against outsiders; 3) those who show little concern for in-group unity but nevertheless distrust outsiders; 4) those who show no great interest in in-group unity and are at the same time willing to accept outsiders.

All of this does not, however, entirely explain the peculiar configurations of the charts yielded by these two questions. In order to account for our results, we must not only assume the existence of two independent variables, but must also ascribe to a number of respondents a tendency to check certain favored positions on the five-point scale. Some must have a preference for the extreme scale points, some must have a preference for the second and fourth scale point, and some must make particularly frequent use of the center position. This can be regarded as a type of response-set, one that has not been thus far described.

It is unfortunate that the data on in-group feelings and immigration do not lend themselves to parametric statistical methods such as analysis of variance and factor analysis. Such analyses might have helped us to decide whether our assumption of two underlying factors is justified. But since the correlation coefficients do not come even close to measuring the amount of relationship between items, all such techniques are ruled out.

TABLE 3.6

Orientations Toward Immigration into the United States
Correlation coefficients and chi-squares (16 df) for all pairs of items.
Community D

If we let people who are different from ourselves into this country:	+1) We'll avoid disagreements about what this nation ought to do*									
	35 495									
	+2) We'll take more pride in our country									
	-02 173	-09 256								
	+3) We'll miss out on many interesting people becoming Americans									
	31 398	45 654	-07 247							
	+4) We'll have a more united country									
	01 199	-13 202	24 335	-02 208						
	+5) We'll come to believe we are better than other people									
	04 168	-15 174	28 375	-07 236	49 751					
	+6) We'll end up distrusting people who are different									
	12 268	16 346	06 224	16 244	05 231	06 183				
If we let people who are very much like ourselves into this country:	+7) We might let in people with poor moral standards									
	10 261	02 255	18 305	04 214	08 238	10 256	17 353			
	+8) We won't all be forced to be very much alike									
	07 201	10 218	09 235	12 304	20 315	17 249	28 496	07 322		
	+9) We'll have trouble between richer and poorer people.									
		05 193	24 363	12 213	14 262	14 282	04 238	22 414	04 269	
	+10) We'll be less narrow-minded									
	09 151	12 234	05 161	12 270	07 227	10 198	34 534	10 252	18 415	04 240
	+11) We may let in people with false and dangerous beliefs									
	03 162	-01 173	26 336	07 170	04 194	10 263	-03 229	22 360	-05 247	30 423
	+12) We'll learn how to get along with many different kinds of people									
										03 234

Decimal points omitted; all chi-square entries are rounded to the nearest integer.

All chi-squares significant beyond the .001 level.

In the absence of more precise information on this matter, we at first thought it unsafe to combine items from the first and the second set of the in-group and immigration questions to form an index. The low level of the coefficients linking the two sets suggests the presence of either a third factor or of interaction effects between the polarities of the items and the polarities of the introductory statements. In view of this, we restricted ourselves to an index constructed on the first six items (the first set) in each of the two questions. The variable of "in-group feeling" which we employed in analyzing our data was a composite, arising from the interaction of the two independent variables discussed in this section — attitude toward the in-group, and attitude toward exclusiveness. We considered a person "high" in in-group feeling if he displayed favorable attitudes toward the in-group and also believed the inclusion of outsiders would have disastrous consequences. His in-group feeling was "medium" if, while displaying favorable attitudes toward the in-group, he is not too insistent upon exclusiveness. "Low" in-group feeling, then, was comprised of an absence of favorable feeling toward the in-group and a rejection of in-group exclusiveness. A parallel classification was used in interpreting the immigration question. However, in later analysis we found that an index based on the entire set of items did not yield substantially different results. We adopted it because of the advantage of having an unidimensional index.

C. EFFECTS OF ITEM-ORDER

To test the effect of item-order upon responses, we prepared eight differently-ordered forms of Question 3 (eight pairs of items dealing with the conflict between the United States and Russia) for the questionnaire used in Communities A and D. Each form was given to approximately one-eighth of the students in each school.

In Form 1 the pairs of items, on the basis of pre-test results, were arranged in a continuum of potential for arousing hostility from least likely (at the top) to most likely (at the bottom). Form 2 is simply an up-ending of Form 1, with most likely at the top and least likely at the bottom. Form 3 begins with the pair at the center of Form 1, then follows with the next higher and next lower alternately. Form 4 draws its items alternately from the top and bottom of Form 1, working toward the center, and thus switches back and forth between the more and the less hostility items. In Forms 1 through 4 the first statement in a pair is always about the United States, and the second about Russia. In Forms 5 through 8 the

order of statements is reversed within each pair so that Russia always comes first; otherwise, the order of the paired statements duplicates the order in Forms 1 through 4.

We devised these forms because we assumed that the first few items in a set would establish a general frame of reference and an emotional tone in terms of which the remaining items might be answered -- we thought that responses to all the items in a set might be colored by the emotional tone set-up in the first two or three items.

Table 3.7 shows responses to the first item ("... feels she is better than...") classified according to the eight forms in which the question was presented. Over-all, there is at most a weak relationship between form and frequency of response, as is shown by a chi-square somewhat below an acceptable level of significance. Yet the table reveals considerable variations in percentages depending on the form used. For instance, the percentage answering that Russia believes she is better than the United States varies between 21.3 and 38.5 per cent, according to the form used. Even larger swings can be observed in other tables. Further, in School A, with a smaller number of respondents, differences between percentages tend to be considerably larger than in School D, because random variation is larger in the smaller samples.

Among the tables for School D (not included in this report), significant chi-squares are found on those tables which show responses to the third, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, and tenth items (see Table 3.5, *supra*, for item content). The largest difference in percentages is found on item 4 ("... feels that... is always wrong"), where 60 per cent of the respondents to Form 4 check "neither" as against only 34 per cent of those taking Form 5. The reason for this variation between the two forms is not apparent.

In trying to explain these variations, we first had to discard the hypothesis underlying the construction of the eight forms, namely, that responses to all items would be influenced by the content of the first two or three. We could find no evidence for any systematic variation that might be ascribed to this variable. Nor could we find any consistent direction of changes in percentages resulting from changes in the position of statements within items, i.e., to the United States or Russia being listed first. We were therefore led to investigate a third hypothesis, that the percentages on each item are influenced by those of the item immediately preceding it.

Here it is well to point out that a certain amount of variation (up to about 5 per cent) appears to occur irrespective of item position (we are not now considering the

TABLE 3.7

Responses to the Item "... feels she is better than ..." by Questionnaire Form (in Percentages)

	U.S.	RUSSIA	BOTH	NEITHER	TOTAL
Form 1	5.0	33.3	20.0	41.7	100
2	5.8	38.5	38.5	17.3	100
3	9.7	30.7	30.7	29.0	100
4	0	33.9	40.0	27.1	100
5	5.0	21.7	41.7	31.7	100
6	7.5	35.8	37.3	19.4	100
7	4.9	21.3	39.3	34.4	100
8	10.0	21.7	28.3	40.0	100
All Forms	6.0	29.5	34.3	30.2	100
Chi-square = 31.2			df = 21	.10 > P > .05	

probabilities of such occurrences). As can be seen in Table 3.7, item 1 ("... feels she is better than ...") shows differences of percentages on slightly over 5 per cent even where it is the first in the series. This is the case in Forms 1 and 3, and again in Forms 5 and 7. Since the item is not preceded by anything else, it is difficult to conceive how it might be affected by item order. Of the eight comparisons that can be made in Table 3.7 between the forms in which the item was listed first, three revealed differences slightly larger than 5 per cent and one a difference slightly above 4 per cent.

In order to determine how percentages might be affected by items immediately preceding them, we divided the items into two sets according to whether the United States or Russia was named in the first statement. Within each set, we identified the percentages of responses which were high or low with respect to the category means, excluding those percentages that were within about 5 per cent of the category means. Fifty-two percentages were investigated in this manner. Of these, 33 appeared to be influenced by the frequencies immediately preceding them; i.e., a high percentage of responses on some particular category tended to be associated with a high frequency of responses on the same category in the preceding item, and low percentages with low frequencies. In the other nineteen items, which remain unexplained on the basis of response frequencies, there appear to be some content connections — certain items appear to produce variations in percentages when they follow each other. For instance, when the superiority item ("... is better than ...") follows the fear item ("... is afraid of ..."), the "U.S." response will be high although the "both" response receives the largest frequency on the fear item. Conversely, if the fear item follows the superiority item, on which the "both" category is frequently checked, the "Russia" response will be high. Similar relationships exist between the understanding and the vindictiveness items and the beliefs and interest items. Admittedly, explanations based on item content can easily be called ad hoc and ex post facto, and there is little to be gained from developing them in detail.

The rather considerable variability in responses due to item order does not, however, affect indices based on the items. These indices include respondents' tendency to designate one, both, or neither of the antagonists as the main initiator and agent of conflict (as measured by the number of check marks in each category) as well as the

tendency to rank as particularly important reasons for conflict certain protagonists or certain situations. Further, item sequence has no influence on the questions immediately following, those dealing with the amount of blame to be attributed to each of the antagonists and with the conflict solutions that the respondent would prefer. Since these indices will be the variables most frequently used in our analyses, we can say that item order is not likely to influence unduly the results of the study.

D. ITEM RELIABILITIES

If our finding regarding the effect of item sequence on frequency of response was somewhat disquieting, our findings regarding reliability tend to increase confidence in our instruments. Instruments given in two communities usually produce very similar percentages in each place. Where there are discrepancies beyond those likely to result from chance, they can almost always be explained by a single variable: the tendency of the students in the smaller community to see conflict as less severe, less likely to spring from evil motives, and more likely to be settled peaceably. We are presenting, as examples in Tables 3.8 and 3.9, the percentages of responses on reasons for conflict and outcomes of conflict.

The students in the smaller community, C, are less likely than those in the larger city to believe that domestic conflicts frequently result from one party trying to prove that it can beat the other. Similarly, they do not consider stubbornness a frequent reason for personal conflicts. They think, on the contrary, that personal conflicts are most frequently produced by people having different principles of right and wrong. With respect to international conflicts, the small town students tend to attribute them to misunderstandings.

This tendency of the small town students stands out even more clearly in Table 3.9, which deals with their perceptions of typical outcomes of conflicts. With respect to interpersonal and international conflict, the small town students are more likely than city students to believe that people will get together and work out a plan for the common good. They also expect people and nations to realize that giving in might be easier than to continue fighting. This does not hold, however, for conflict between senators over taxes, which they consider much less susceptible of easy settlement.

TABLE 3.8
REASONS FOR CONFLICT
PERCENT CHECKING EACH ITEM AS A FREQUENT OR OCCASIONAL REASON FOR CONFLICT, BY CONFLICT TYPE.
COMMUNITIES B AND C

ITEMS	CONFLICT TYPES											
	Between Persons $N_B=533$ $N_C=495$		Over Integration $N_B=296$ $N_C=249$		Between Senators Over Taxes $N_B=296$ $N_C=249$		Between Labor & Management $N_B=237$ $N_C=247$		Between Nations $N_B=237$ $N_C=247$			
	very frequent	some- times	very frequent	some- times	very frequent	some- times	very frequent	some- times	very frequent	some- times		
Money and Possessions, having wealth, etc.	25.9	56.8	8.1	27.0	26.0	51.0	70.9	22.4	28.3	45.6		
Each trying to prove he can beat the other	22.0	62.2	8.4	37.8	22.1	54.6	26.0	19.1	28.7	53.4		
	31.0	48.0	54.1	33.1	62.5	29.4	14.3	46.4	47.3	33.8		
	33.3	45.9	43.8	46.6	57.0	33.7	17.1	52.0	51.8	38.5		
Each trying one trying to to prove he show - - -			59.8	28.0			30.4	46.0				
is superior he is as good	36.8	43.0			59.8	28.4			62.9	26.2		
to the as others			61.0	29.3			26.4	53.7				
other he is better	36.6	46.9	71.3	19.6	35.8	32.9	27.4	44.7	63.6	31.2		
than others			80.3	12.9			28.0	51.2				
Each trying to tell the	50.3	41.3	11.5	38.5	42.9	34.1	11.8	35.4	66.2	25.3		
other what to do,	50.3	41.6	11.6	41.4	41.0	32.1	15.9	40.2	66.8	28.3		
control others, world												
Different ideas of	47.7	40.0	28.4	41.9	36.1	46.9	31.2	44.3	47.3	42.6		
right and wrong,	53.7	39.6	27.7	43.8	32.5	51.0	29.3	50.4	44.5	49.0		
different principles												
They do not under-	50.0	37.1	57.8	31.4	22.3	45.3			40.9	44.3		
stand each other	52.5	38.2	58.6	32.9	29.3	45.8			47.0	44.1		
They are stubborn,	56.1	32.1	41.2	41.6	50.6	35.1	29.5	37.6	35.9	47.7		
won't change	49.9	41.2	43.0	43.4	44.6	42.2	27.6	46.3	37.2	50.2		
Each is afraid giving	52.2	35.1	55.4	34.8	51.7	35.5	48.9	32.0	53.2	35.9		
in a little will give the												
other the upper hand	48.5	39.4	61.0	29.7	54.6	34.9	48.8	37.8	55.5	38.1		

*These are approximate wordings of items. Forms of statements were varied somewhat to fit each conflict type. For exact wordings, see questionnaire, Appendix B.

In each cell, top percentage is for Community B, bottom percentage for Community C.

TABLE 3.9
OUTCOMES OF CONFLICT
PERCENT CHECKING ITEM AS A FREQUENT OR OCCASIONAL OUTCOME OF CONFLICT, BY CONFLICT TYPE
COMMUNITIES B AND C

ITEMS (Outcomes of Conflict) ^a	Between Persons N _B =533 N _C =495		Over Integration N _B =296 N _C =249		Between Senators Over Taxes N _B =296 N _C =249		Between Labor & Management N _B =237 N _C =247		Between Nations N _B =237 N _C =247	
	very frequent	some- times	very frequent	some- times	very frequent	some- times	very frequent	some- times	very frequent	some- times
One convinces the other	24.2	35.7	9.8	32.8	10.5	56.4	21.1	51.9	35.0	41.8
	26.3	56.6	8.8	46.2	10.0	56.2	19.5	59.8	34.0	49.8
One forces the other to give in	15.9	50.3	29.4	38.5	11.5	42.2	50.6	38.0	8.9	48.1
	17.6	50.1	26.5	40.6	13.7	43.4	49.2	42.3	10.5	57.1
Both realize giving in is easier than continuing quarrel	47.5	39.0	28.4	42.9	43.2	38.5	44.7	42.2	38.4	40.1
	59.4	32.3	30.1	51.8	36.9	47.4	52.8	36.2	42.5	47.8
Third party makes them stop	23.1	45.0	50.7	37.5	15.2	52.0	12.2	49.4	8.9	40.9
	21.4	45.1	43.8	45.0	16.5	58.6	13.8	50.0	10.9	48.6
Both too exhausted to continue	7.5	26.3	23.0	40.2	9.5	31.8	58.6	31.2	8.9	43.9
	5.5	30.3	26.9	39.8	10.4	35.3	65.4	27.6	11.3	38.5
Both recognize cause was a misunderstanding	49.3	39.6	17.6	40.2	24.3	44.6	10.5	51.5	15.2	50.2
	59.2	35.6	19.3	36.1	20.9	51.8	13.8	51.6	17.0	53.4
Both call on higher authority (arbitrator, UN) to settle issue	25.7	40.1	27.0	43.9	28.0	44.3	16.5	50.2	37.6	44.3
	21.0	50.7	28.1	42.2	26.5	50.6	22.8	55.3	36.0	53.4
They get together to work out a solution	40.3	42.4	22.3	34.1	43.6	41.9	61.2	30.4	28.3	52.3
	54.3	37.4	24.0	42.2	39.0	44.2	63.4	32.1	35.6	53.8

THE INSTRUMENTS

^aWording of items is approximate; statements in instrument were varied somewhat according to conflict type. For exact wording, see Questionnaires, Appendix B.

In each cell, top percentage is for Community B, bottom percentage for Community C.

The correlation charts which we presented in earlier sections of this chapter indicate, likewise, a remarkable similarity of relationships between items in the two cities. In general, our measures of association tend to be higher in the smaller towns than in the city, a function no doubt of the greater homogeneity of the small town environment. However, when measures of association are ordered according to magnitude, the differences in rank order of associations are minor.

The instruments administered in Communities A and D exhibit the same kinds of similarities, as will be seen in Chapter 7 where we analyse the results of these questionnaires.

We are thus convinced that the items, as written, are highly reliable by the criterion of comparability of the results obtained from two groups of people. It is doubtful, however, that great reliability could be demonstrated if different forms of the same instrument were given to the same population. Slight changes in wording, shifting of the sequence of items, even changes of the format of the questionnaire, can produce considerable changes in the percentages of the responses. The semantic properties of the statements, aside from their overt content, appear to affect response to a large extent. This phenomenon is, of course, well known to social researchers. It will always occur when the topics explored by the instruments are of no great psychological saliency for the respondent — instead of triggering the expression of firmly-held beliefs and attitudes, such instruments must provide him with both the topic and the frame of reference within which he is to make answers. It is therefore extremely dangerous to draw from such instruments conclusions regarding the frequencies of certain attitudes within a population. Rather, the instruments must be regarded as standard stimuli, and the only thing significant in the responses is the difference in the reactions of different groups of people to them.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS OF CLIQUE AND CROWD DETECTION

The interviews conducted in the first phase of this study, during the period of site selection, convinced us that participation in formal organizations is perhaps not as important in shaping orientations toward the political world as one might have anticipated. Previous investigations, particularly the study by Helenan Lewis,* have indicated a relationship between participation in formal organizations and acceptance of party politics as well as moderation in political judgments. However, the relationships observed explained only a small portion of the variance. We thought this was due largely to the inadequacy of the procedures used in devising indices of multiple participation, and that a more careful construction of such indices would yield better results. Our doubts about this arose from the responses we received from our informants in all of the schools visited when we attempted to discuss the meaning of participation in formal organizations. They indicated that students often join a formal organization for quite trivial reasons having to do with meeting times, the opportunity to use sports facilities and the like. While certain informal groups of students were perceived as preferring, and congregating in particular extracurricular activities, the opposite was not true — i.e., school clubs were not perceived as the important foci of group activity conducive to the formation of common sets of orientations.

We therefore decided to pay greater attention than originally planned to the effect which informal participations may have upon the development of political

*Helenan S. Lewis, "The Teenage Joiner and His Orientations Toward Public Affairs: A Test of Two Multiple Group Membership Hypotheses" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1962).

orientations. This, in turn, forced us to look for procedures which would identify informal groupings distinct in their values and interests, yet overlapping to some extent.

I. CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH ON CLIQUE DETECTION

Researchers in the area of sociometry have from time to time devoted efforts to the development of methods for depicting, in a standard fashion, the structure of a group subjected to sociometric analysis. The conventional sociogram, as originally devised by J. L. Moreno, left a great deal to the researcher's judgment, since the placement of individuals in a sociometric diagram with respect to other individuals is largely a matter of choice. The resulting configurations of dots and lines convey impressions of structure and density that may not be warranted by the data, and that can be altered at the will of the researcher.

While the objective of a standard representation of sociometric structures is without any doubt important for the advancement of sociometric methodology, it is not the main preoccupation of this study. For us the identification of cliques is not a means of depicting the relationships in a group more objectively, but is, rather, one of our main objectives.

The methods of clique detection devised thus far can be classified according to two major criteria: (1) the formal procedures followed, and (2) the underlying model of social relations. By "formal procedures" we mean the mathematical models as well as the algorithms employed. "Model of social relations" refers to the hypothetical images the researcher has in mind when defining cliques and setting down criteria for distinguishing among them or grouping them together.

All formal procedures suggested for use in clique detection consist in operations upon a sociometric matrix. In such a matrix, there is a row and a column for each individual comprised in the universe under analysis. The names of the individuals are arranged in the same order in both margins of the matrix. In each cell of the matrix there appears either a 0 or a 1. The principal diagonal, consisting of the cells at the intersections of the rows and columns belonging to each individual, is empty. A 1 appearing in a given row i and a column j means that individual i chooses individual j . If the choice is mutual, i.e., if j also chooses i , a 1 also appears in the cell at the intersection of row j and column i . If all choices were mutual, the matrix would be a

symmetric about its principal axis.

When such a matrix is set up, the assignment of rows or columns to individuals is, at the outset, arbitrary. The object of all clique detection procedures is either to re-order the rows and columns in such a way that cliques become apparent by the topological proximity of cell entries, or to assign labels to rows or columns in such a way that those belonging together receive similar labels. Two types of procedures have been suggested for this purpose. One of these consists in operating on the matrix as a whole by carrying out the usual operations of matrix algebra such as matrix addition, matrix multiplication, and matrix exponentiation. The other procedure consists in finding starting points within the matrix and adding rows and columns to those associated with the starting points until one or more sub-matrices, corresponding to cliques, have been constituted. These sub-matrices are then fitted together according to some standard scheme to yield the reconstituted matrix.

The first procedure, based on matrix algebra, has been suggested independently by Leon Festinger and by R. Duncan Luce.* Festinger demonstrates that, when a sociometric matrix is raised to its second or any higher power, any positive entries in the diagonal cells designate clique members. The magnitude of the numbers found in the principal diagonal depends on the size of the clique. If the clique size is n , then the number in the diagonal is always $(n-1)(n-2)$. The matrix raised to its second power shows all two-step connections between individuals, a matrix raised to its third power all three-step connections, and so on. The procedures proposed by R. Duncan Luce are similar in most respects to those of Festinger.

A somewhat different approach, also involving manipulation of the entire sociometric matrix, is used by Frank Harary and Ian C. Ross.** Harary and Ross

*Leon Festinger, "The Analysis of Sociograms Using Matrix Algebra," in J. L. Moreno, ed., The Sociometry Reader (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 238-243.

R. Duncan Luce, "Connectivity and Generalized Cliques in Sociometric Group Structure," Psychometrika, XV (1950), 169-190.

**Frank Harary and Ian C. Ross, "A Procedure for Clique Detection Using a Group Matrix," Sociometry, XX (1957), 205-215.

manipulate the sociometric matrix in such a manner that the rows assigned to individuals will contain entries other than 0 only if the individual belongs to a clique. They demonstrate that in any sociometric matrix containing three cliques or less there must be at least two persons who belong to no more than one clique. These persons are easily identified because they have the smallest row sums. The clique of a person whose row sum is minimal consists of all the individuals whose entries in his row are non-zero. If no person belonging to only one clique can be found in the matrix, then the group contains more than three cliques. In this event a second procedure is used to subdivide the matrix and to detect cliques in the sub-matrices constituted after division.

The techniques so far discussed were not designed for very large matrices like the ones we have to consider. Although the matrix manipulations prescribed by the techniques could, in principle, be executed by computers, the number of cells in the matrix will usually exceed the memory capacity of the machine.

The second procedure, that of constituting sub-matrices first and then fitting them together, was initially proposed by E. Forsyth and L. Katz.* These authors used data originally gathered by J. L. Moreno which consisted of both positive and negative choices (attractions and rejections). Cliques are constituted on the basis of the attractiveness of the members for each other, the procedure being as follows: As a starting point, one chooses any pair of individuals standing in a mutual-choice relationship to each other. To this pair is added any person whom both members of the pair have chosen, or any person who chooses both members of the pair and is also chosen by one of them. At each further step, individuals are added if they are chosen by at least half of the individuals who have already been assigned to the clique. Once cliques have been built up by this procedure, the rows and columns of the sociometric matrix are rearranged to bring those belonging to the same clique next to each other. This places all of the individuals belonging to the same clique near the principal diagonal, while the individuals who belong to no clique are left in cells more

*E. Forsyth and L. Katz, "A Matrix Approach to the Analysis of Sociometric Data: Preliminary Report," Sociometry, IX (1946), 340-347.

remote from it. The cliques are then arranged in relation to each other within the total matrix by maximizing the number of negative choices in the minor sub-matrices formed by the intersections of the rows and columns of the clique sub-matrices.

A more recent development taking its departure from Katz's proposal originates from James S. Coleman and Duncan MacRae, Jr. who have attempted to develop a computer routine for detecting cliques.* The authors use only mutual choices. An ingenious system of averaging the numbers assigned to the individuals permits one to make the computer rearrange the rows and columns in the matrix in such a way that entries for individuals belonging to the same clique will be close to each other in the vicinity of the principal diagonal. Aside from the reservations which one may have about the underlying social model (which are discussed below) this procedure is not sufficiently developed to be of any real use. One of its major drawbacks is that various subgroups appear superimposed upon each other along the diagonal of the matrix, so that it is impossible to distinguish between several cliques whose members may be intertwined along the diagonal of the matrix.

We now turn to the discussion of the social models underlying the various clique detection procedures thus far developed.

Two properties of cliques will be considered here: the direction of choices and the density of the choice net. With respect to direction, an individual's membership can be made to depend on his being chosen by members of the clique, on his choosing members of the clique, on mutual choices, or on some combination of these requirements. Clearly none of these criteria can be applied in isolation, since the adoption of the "choosing-into" criterion will inevitably result in "choosing" members also being "chosen-by."

The requirement that every member of a clique should stand in a mutual-choice relationship with some other member of the same clique usually results from formal or technological preoccupations rather than from a conception of the underlying

* James S. Coleman and Duncan MacRae, Jr. "Electronic Processing of Sociometric Data for Groups up to 1,000 in size," American Sociological Review, XXV (1960), 722-727.

social model. Luce's earlier formulations* considered only mutual choices. In his subsequent article, cited above, he recognized that cliques made up only of individuals mutually choosing each other could scarcely be regarded as true reflections of the social realities as commonly conceived. He therefore generalized his model to include unidirectional choices as building stones of clique structure. Similarly, Coleman and MacRae recognize, in a concluding note to their paper, that the omission of unidirectional choices reflects only procedural necessity, not their conception of social reality. In the same note Coleman and MacRae remark that the sociometric structures they obtain by using only mutual choices exhibit very few clusters that might be regarded as cliques and resemble rather, "octopus-like" configurations superimposed upon each other. This picture may, however, be misleading. It may well be that many of the leading figures in cliques choose each other mutually, forming as it were a leadership stratum, and that the cliques clustering around such leading figures become apparent only when the unidirectional choices are recorded also. This, at least, is the impression we gain from our own data.

The real issue, then, is between those who regard being "chosen-by" as the major criterion for admitting an individual into a clique and those who feel that an individual's "choosing into" a clique should be given primary consideration. Forsyth and Katz belong to the first school, whereas Cavin T. Leeman, defines a clique as follows:

If within the N-person group there exists a group of fewer than N persons such that each person in this subgroup chooses a person in this subgroup, by definition this subgroup is a clique.

The issue as to which of these social models is to be preferred can be settled only by examining the orientations and practices most common in the social system of which the sociometric matrix is a part. Different sets of criteria may be appropriate for different social systems or different social layers within the same system. "Society" in a typical community may well be constituted by co-optation, i.e., one can become a

*R. Duncan Luce and Albert D. Perry, "A Method of Matrix Analysis of Group Structures," Sociometry, XIV (1949), 95, 116.

member of a Country Club or other prestige association only by being asked to join. On the other hand, it is our impression that clique participation in high schools depends to a very large extent on the individuals' desires to participate. While social barriers no doubt exist -- and they have been thoroughly investigated by such researchers as Hollingshead and Gorden -- the social system of the high school exhibits enough fluidity so that individuals, by exhibiting the proper interest and attitudes, can join a range of cliques and crowds.

A second issue in clique construction, one that has rarely been clearly articulated, is that of cohesion. The requirement of a certain number of choices in the direction of the member or emanating from him insures, of course, a certain level of density of choices within the clique. So does the requirement that no person within the same clique should be removed by more than a given number of steps from some or from each other person. Yet it will be apparent that cliques constituted on the basis of these criteria can be of different degrees of cohesion. The method proposed by Forsyth and Katz, strangely, makes for a lower density of choices in the central region of the clique than at its outskirts. The members of the starter pair need only choose each other, whereas persons added to the clique in the course of the procedure must be chosen by at least half of the clique members. The longer the procedure lasts the more burdensome the procedure becomes for those not yet included. Consequently, the order in which individuals are added becomes important, and if several individuals are tied as to the number of choices they receive from a majority of the clique members, their inclusion or exclusion necessarily becomes a matter of the researcher's judgment.

The problem of clique cohesion has been tackled, as a separate issue, by Joan Criswell.* As her measure of cohesion she proposes the amount of reciprocation of choices found in a given clique. Furthermore, her proposed measure takes into consideration reciprocations under varying choice criteria, i.e., when respondents are asked to answer several distinct sociometric questions requiring them to choose associates for various purposes. Criswell's proposed index would perhaps yield

*Joan Criswell, "The Measurement of Group Integration," J. L. Moreno, ed., The Sociometry Reader (cited above), pp. 252-260.

the most realistic measure of clique cohesion. The single sociometric question asking, usually, for the designation of close friends, is a poor substitute for a more realistic choice which, as Moreno has tended to require, should have practical consequences in changing the social contacts of the respondent. However, we have so far no procedures for constituting cliques based on a variety of choice criteria, so that Criswell's suggestions cannot be applied to cliques constituted by the procedures of previous authors or of this study.

There can be little doubt that Luce's mathematical developments and procedures are preferable to other formulations because of their intellectual neatness and their relative closeness to reality. But their application to large-scale sociometric matrices must await the development of computer techniques adequate to handle them. It is also possible that the criterion prescribing a maximum number of steps between each pair of individuals in a given clique is too restrictive and leaves out the individuals who, although more loosely connected with the rest of the membership, must nevertheless be considered clique members because they have few or no other attachments. This is to say that a person's membership in a clique should not be a function merely of his connections with other members of the clique, but also of the number of his connections outside the clique. One might, thus, wish to strive for a measure of relative attachment.

II. EXPERIMENTS IN CLIQUE DETECTION

The procedures which will be proposed below lack the mathematical elegance of the formulations by Luce and Festinger. We have, nevertheless, found them useful. Their main advantages are that (1) they yield unique results, leaving nothing to the judgment of the researcher; (2) they include several different clique-structure models which are applied according to the configurations found in reality; (3) they contain a separate measure of cohesion, depending on the number of choices that individuals make within and outside a given clique; and (4) they can be applied to large sociometric matrices.

Our procedure is similar to that of Forsyth and Katz in that it first identifies starting points within the matrix and then builds up cliques by addition of further members. A special characteristic of our procedure is that it relates the cliques to each

other and classifies them into crowds. This part of our analysis is only vaguely analogous to Katz's method of lining up the cliques, once constituted, along the principal diagonal of the matrix in such a way as to place cliques most closely related near one another. Katz's method is an attempt to map into a unidimensional space a set of entities which may well be multidimensional. Our procedure merely computes indices of similarity between cliques and categorizes these into crowds. We make no attempt to determine the dimensions of the space such crowds might be mapped into.

Our preliminary sketches of high density areas in the sociometric matrix suggested that there were two types of cliques. Some of the diagrams consisted of tight nets of crisscrossing relationships between the members, while relationships in others appeared to be centered upon a sociometric star. This does not mean that the cliques of the first type did not contain any stars; indeed, most of the cliques contained one or more. But in cliques of the second type, either the star did not reciprocate the choices he received, or there was a great sparsity of choices among the non-stars belonging to the set.

In view of these preliminary findings, we thought it worthwhile to develop two sets of criteria, each designed to detect one of the types of cliques. Further, it appeared that the criteria for detecting the first type should take precedence over those developed for the second type. That is, the criteria should permit first the detection of the first type of cliques and then, as a second step, the identification of cliques centered upon stars. In the discussions below, we will first proceed somewhat formally in order to spell out the criteria which were developed. In a subsequent section we will discuss the clique models which emerge from the application of these criteria and our use of these models.

We will call groups of the first type "membership cliques" and those of the second type "star-centered cliques." Among the latter we will later distinguish "star cliques" and "followings."

III. MEMBERSHIP CLIQUES

It seems that, to be defined as such, a membership clique should satisfy certain requirements which may be approximately stated as follows:

1. A clique should consist of individuals who have a certain amount

of attraction for one another.

2. Persons included in a membership clique should exhibit a certain level of interest in being members of the group rather than mere attraction to a particular member or to particular members.

3. A membership clique should display a certain amount of cohesion.

4. Clique boundaries should be clearly enough defined to prevent cliques from merging indistinguishably; at the same time the criteria for clique detection should allow for a certain amount of overlap between clique memberships; this is particularly important in view of the objectives of this study.

5. Inasmuch as personal friendships with members of more than one clique may also indicate a measure of pluralistic participation, it is important that the positions of "hangers-on" be somehow taken into account. While these people cannot be included in the cliques proper, their status should at least be indicated.

These intuitive requirements suggest at least one minimum criterion. This criterion, which we will henceforth call "Criterion I," can be stated as follows:

Criterion I: Each member of a clique should choose at least two other members of the same clique.

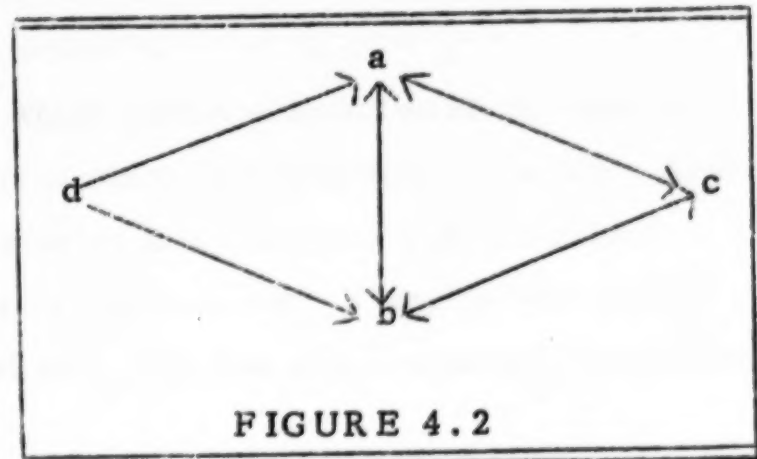
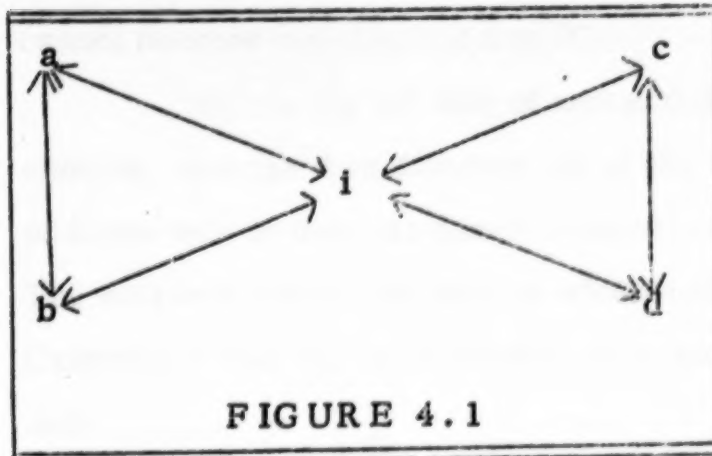
Clearly, if we required only one choice, there would be no evidence that the individual was in any way attached to the clique as a whole rather than being merely a friend of one of its members. Empirical observation has shown, further, that the adoption of any number larger than two would be impractical. If we required three or more choices, the resulting number of groups would be severely reduced and most of the smaller cliques we have detected would simply disappear.

We will now give more formal definitions of the terms which we will apply in this discussion. While these definitions do not have the rigidity of mathematical formulations, we believe they will be sufficiently explicit to permit formalization and development of computer programs at a later stage.

A. DEFINITIONS

A set of elements satisfying certain criteria to be developed will be called

are other individuals.



(In Figure 4.1 as in all figures presented below, a double-headed arrow indicates a mutual choice -- each of the individuals joined by the arrow chooses the other. Single-headed arrows will indicate unidirectional choices.)

The minimum sets of several individuals may be identical. In our illustration *a* and *i* have an identical minimum set, as have the five other pairs of individuals in this diagram (*b* and *i*, *a* and *b*, *i* and *c*, *i* and *d*, *c* and *d*). However, it is not true that whenever two individuals are members of the same minimum set, their respective minimum sets are identical. Consider the following minimum set (Figure 4.2). For *a*, *b*, and *c*, the minimum set consists of *a*, *b*, and *c*. For *d*, the minimum set consists of *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*. While the minimum sets of *a*, *b*, and *c* are identical, that of *d* is not identical with any of the others. For this reason, the minimum sets as now defined must be described with reference to the members whose sets they are. We will refer to them as individual minimum sets, or IMS.

B. DETECTION PROCESSES

There are two processes of clique detection: search and accretion. These will now be described.

Given a universe of individuals with connections between some of them, and given a particular individual *i*, the search procedure consists in recording all of *i*'s connections with other individuals *j*, *k*, ..., *r*. The connections of each of the individuals *j*, *k*, ..., *r* with each other individual are similarly recorded. However, each choice is recorded only once. This process is continued until examination of the last individuals shows that their outward choices have already been recorded at some

previous stage of the process, or that they made less than two choices and therefore cannot become members of any PC.

By tracing all sets of connections which contain at least two of i 's outward choices, one can then discover all of the sets of which i 's connections are a part. Each of these sets is then examined to ascertain whether it is consistent with Criterion 1. The smallest among the sets so identified is i 's minimum set. If several sets satisfy Criterion 1 and the requirement of minimal size, then they are considered i 's minimum sets.

Clearly, the procedure outlined in the preceding paragraph cannot be carried out in practice. As a matter of fact, if it could be carried out, any further development of our techniques would be unnecessary. By means of the search procedure, if we applied it to every individual in the universe we would obtain all PCs in it. The difficulty lies, obviously, in the extremely large number of sets which would have to be constituted and examined, a number so large that even computers might not be able to accomplish the task in a reasonable amount of time. The reason for constituting minimum sets is that they can be used for the detection of larger PCs. The detection of minimum sets, however, cannot possibly be based on the examination of all sets in which an individual is involved by at least two of his outward choices. For the time being, we will assume that minimum sets can be constituted without resort to the exhaustive listing of sets required by the search procedure.

The process of accretion can be used to obtain from an IMS other PCs of which i is a member. Given an IMS and given a universe of individuals with some choice connections between them, we examine only the inward choices of each individual and record the individuals from whom these choices originate. Whenever an individual not previously included in the PC has two outward choices connecting him with the members of the PC (these are the only ones of his outward choices which will have been recorded) he is made a new member of the PC. The inward choices of each new member are then examined and the process continued as above.

The difference between search and accretion is that in accretion the PC is increased by only one member at a time, whereas in search the set is either constituted or increased by identifying several new members at the same time. Note that

the search procedure can be used not only to constitute minimum groups but also to enlarge minimum groups. Consider, for instance, PC_1 and PC_2 in Figure 4.3.

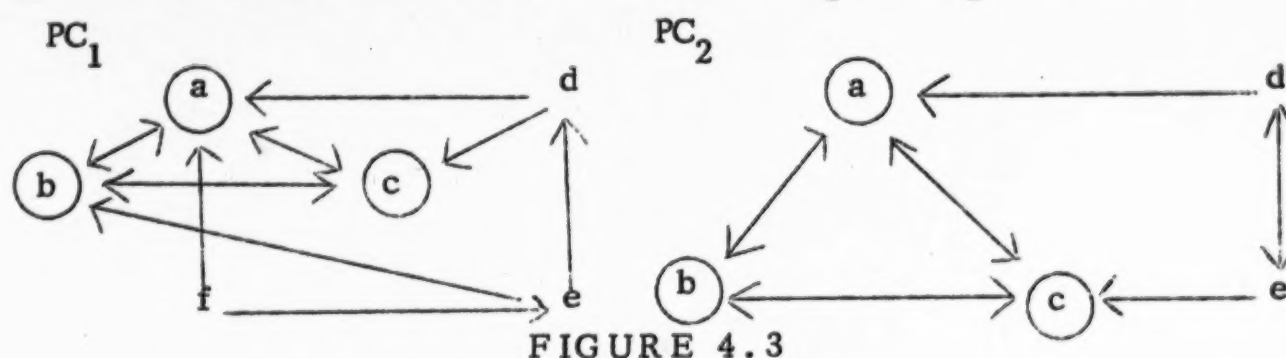


FIGURE 4.3

PC_1 can be constituted by accretion from the minimum set $[a, b, c]$; the alphabetical sequence of the letters d , e , and f is the sequence in which members must be added. In the set PC_2 , however, the membership of d depends on e being a member, and the membership of e on d being a member. Therefore, set PC_2 can be constituted only by the search procedure.

SOCIOMETRIC MINIMUM SETS

We now introduce the notion of the sociometric minimum set (SMS). We list below the conditions that define a given IMS_i as a sociometric minimum set (SMS).

Condition 1: There is no IMS that is identical with IMS_i , or in which IMS_i is wholly contained. That is, not all the members of IMS_i are also members of some other IMS .

Condition 2: There are several identical IMS s; in this case, all of them are considered to be the same SMS provided they are not ruled out by Conditions 3 or 4.

Condition 3: IMS_i is wholly contained in IMS_j and IMS_j can be obtained from IMS_i by the accretion process. In this case, IMS_i is an SMS, and IMS_j is not.

Condition 4: IMS_i is wholly contained in IMS_j , and IMS_j can NOT be obtained from IMS_i by the accretion process. In this case, IMS_j is an SMS, but IMS_i is not.

Conditions 2 and 3 and Conditions 2 and 4 may operate jointly. No other combination of conditions is allowed.

NUCLEUS

Any set of two or more SMSs, each of which has at least two members in common with one other SMS, is called a nucleus. (Note that, according to Condition 2 above, no two SMSs can have all of their members in common.) Many nuclei, particularly those composed of small SMSs, have configurations allowing them to be constituted by accretion from one or more of their SMSs. Below are two examples (Figure 4.4) of nuclei, each of which can be constituted by accretion from either of its component SMSs.

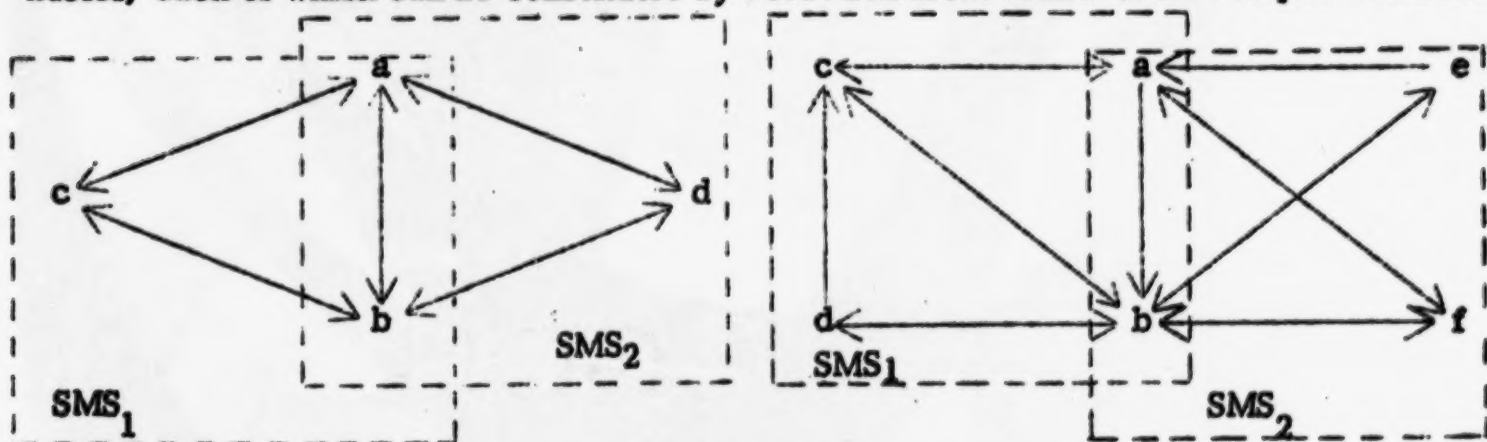


FIGURE 4.4

The nucleus in Figure 4.5, however, is a configuration whose SMS₂ can be constituted from SMS₁ by accretion, but whose SMS₁ cannot be so constituted from SMS₂. Finally, nuclei may consist of overlapping SMSs. Such a configuration is shown in Figure 4.6. This nucleus contains only four SMSs: [a, b, c],*[d, b, c], [d, a, c], and [d, a, b], since set [a, b, c, d] is not an SMS under Condition 3.

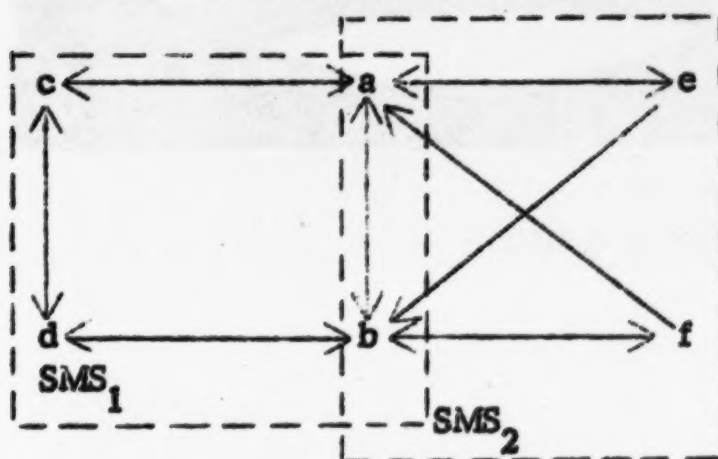


FIGURE 4.5

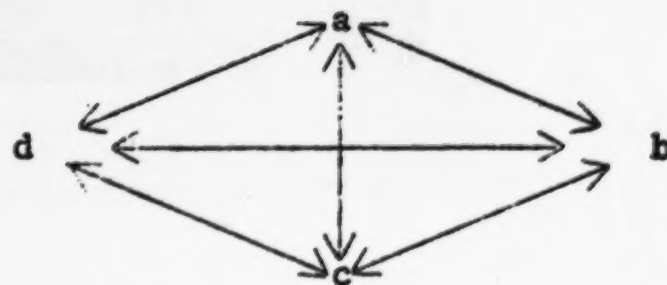


FIGURE 4.6

*Because of the limitations of the typewriter, square brackets will be used in this report instead of the usual curved braces: { ... } to indicate sets.

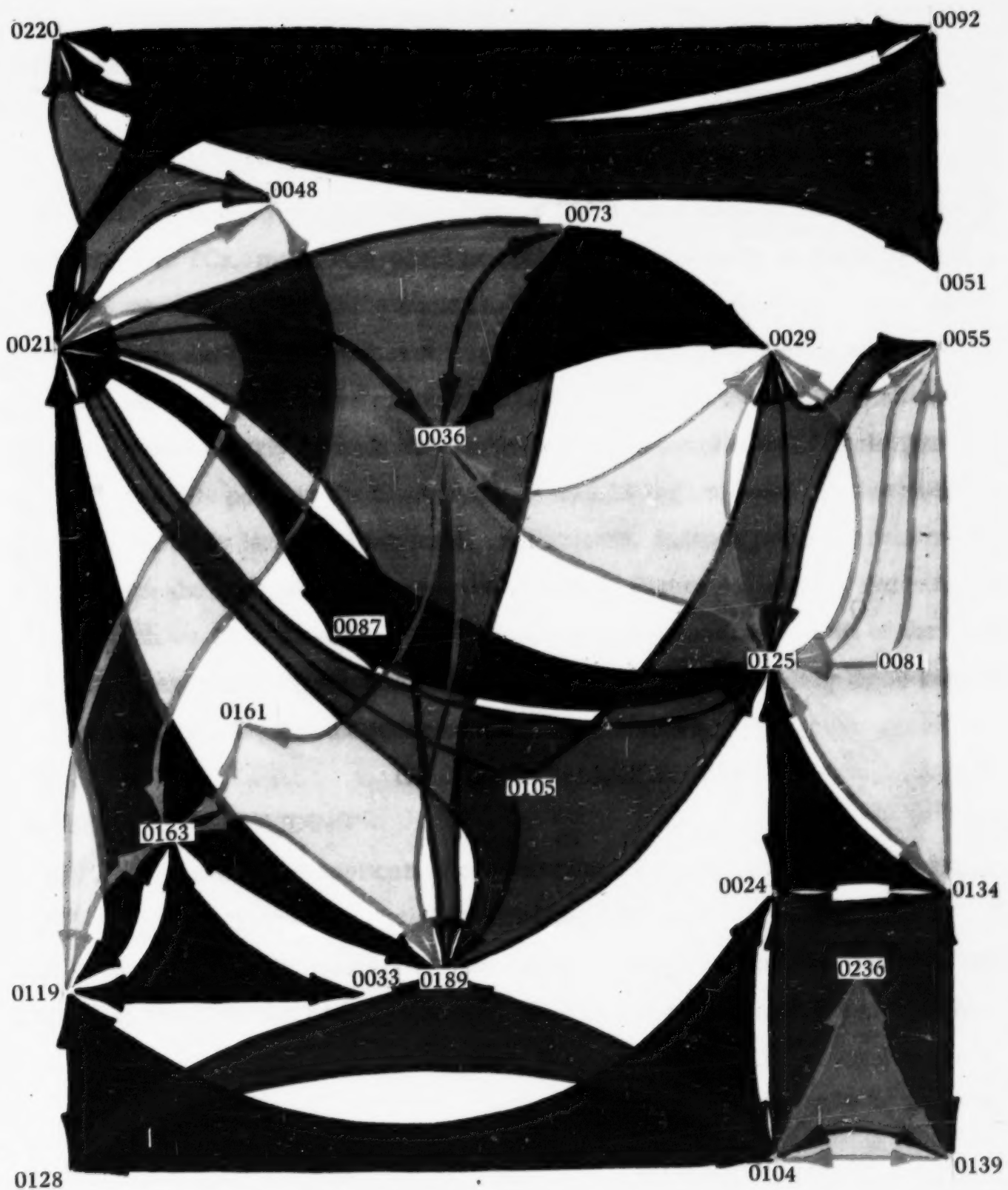


FIGURE 4.7

It will have become obvious that the process of constituting PCs must start from nuclei, not from single SMSs. For, if SMSs were used as starting points for the constitution of PCs, many PCs would be constituted repeatedly by starting from different SMSs contained in the same nucleus. A more important reason will be given below when we formulate the additional criterion that a clique may contain no more than one nucleus. A more restrictive criterion that would require every clique to contain one SMS only would clearly be undesirable in view of the properties of nuclei just displayed.

At this point in the discussion, it may be well to point out that nuclei can become extremely large and intricate, so intricate, indeed, that it is nearly impossible to recognize the separate SMSs composing them. Figure 4.7 depicts the nucleus of a clique which we found in school A. This diagram does not contain all of the connections actually observed among the non-members of this nucleus, but only those required to show the relationships of the various SMSs to each other.

C. ADDITIONAL CRITERIA

PREVENTION OF "SLIDING"

The exclusive application of Criterion 1 can result in the construction of several identical PCs if two or more nuclei are tied together by chains of connections. This will be the case if the chain consists of pairs of members, of whom each makes at least two choices in the direction of each nucleus. Figure 4.8 pictures such a situation.

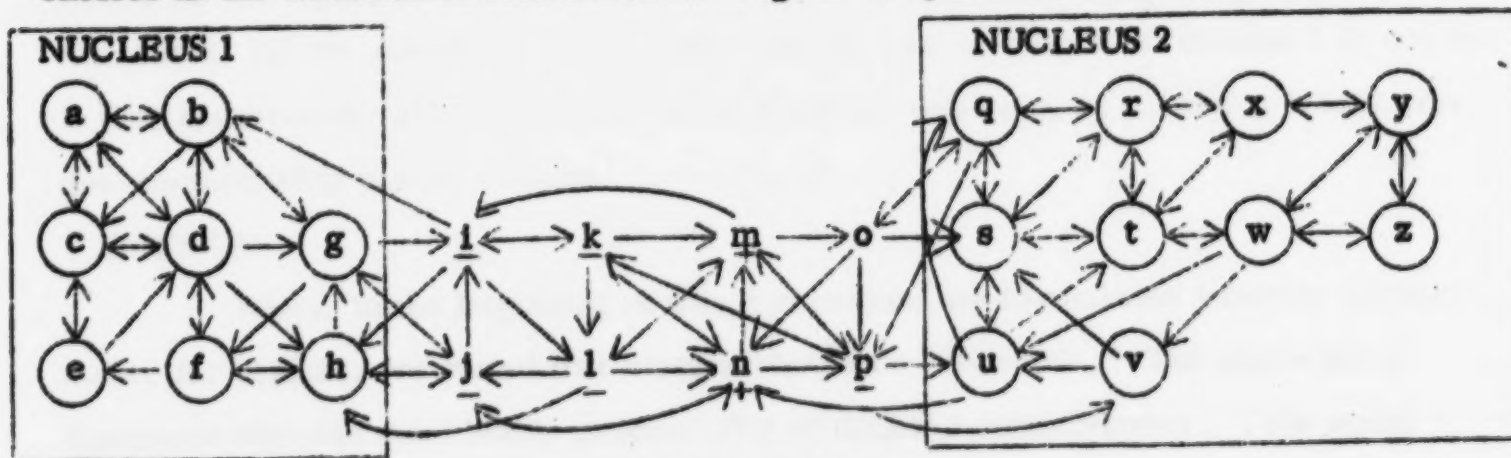


FIGURE 4.8

If the two nuclei were removed, the remaining members i, j, k, l, m, n, o, and p would not form a clique, there being no nucleus anywhere within this set. If only one nucleus were removed, all of the members of the chain would become members of the clique built upon the remaining nucleus.

Similarly, it could be shown that there are PCs containing more than one nucleus wherein the entire PC can be constructed by accretion from one of the nuclei but not from the other.

Finally, nothing thus far prevents the construction of PCs that consist of a string of more than two nuclei connected by chains such as the one shown in Figure 4.8. Such "sliding" from one nucleus to another seems intuitively undesirable, particularly since the nuclei at the ends of such chains may well have no connections with one another. Furthermore, a situation could easily arise in which all of the sets within a given universe could be tied into a single clique by a variety of chains, in which case the very object of the attempt to detect cliques would have been defeated.

We are therefore led to adopt a second criterion:

Criterion 2: No clique may have more than one nucleus.

This criterion implies that the accretion process must be stopped whenever the next member of the PC would acquire membership merely by choosing two or more members of a second nucleus. Individuals belonging to a nucleus other than the one from which the PC was started may become members of the PC if at least one of their choices is not a member of the second nucleus. Thus, in Figure 4.8, PC_1 would include Nucleus 1, all the members of the chain, and the two members of Nucleus 2 (q and u) who make choices outside their nucleus. Similarly, PC_2 would consist of Nucleus 2, all the members of the chain, and the two members of Nucleus 1 (g and h). In this illustration, all non-nuclear individuals as well as g, h, q, and u would have dual membership in both cliques.

COHESION

When, in the beginning of this discussion, we formulated intuitive requirements for cliques, we stated that cliques should be "cohesive." The procedures discussed thus far can clearly produce PCs of doubtful cohesiveness. This would particularly be the case if the members most distant from the nucleus were at the end of a fairly long chain. Empirical observations show, in addition, that the outward choices of such members frequently fall in much greater number outside the clique under consideration than within it. In this section we will discuss a procedure for eliminating such members from the PC.

We will call a clique cohesive if each of its members makes some contribution toward "strengthening" the group as a whole. As a measure of cohesion, we propose to use the probability of observing among the members a number of connections as great as, or greater than, that actually found, given a universe of size N, and on condition that the total number of connections of the group members with other members of the universe is of size C. If this conditional probability is greater for PC_1 than for PC_j , then we will say that PC_j is more cohesive. We justify this definition by pointing out that the probability of any given number of choices occurring in a set of elements of a given size would be greatest if the choices had been made at random. The less random the choices among the members of a set, the lower will be the probability of this number of choices occurring, since non-random selections are likely to result in areas of particularly high density within the matrix depicting the universe of choices.

The normal approximation to the binomial distribution may be used to calculate the probabilities we have described. This requires the calculation of z , the number of standard errors lying between the expected value of V (the number of choices within the clique) and the observed value of V . This is z obtained by the formula

$$z = \frac{V_o - V_e}{\sigma_v},$$

where σ is the standard error or the sampling distribution of V , V_e the expectation or mean of the sampling distribution, and V_o the observed V . Further,

$$V_e = \frac{(n-1) C}{N-1},$$

where n is the number of members in the clique, C the number of connections these members have with other individuals in the universe, and N the number of individuals in the universe. Finally, the standard error of the sampling distribution of V ,

$$\sigma_v = \sqrt{V_e \left(1 - \frac{C}{n(N-1)}\right)}.$$

Since the actual size of the probabilities involved is irrelevant (they are always extremely small), we can use z as a measure of cohesion. The larger z (the smaller the probability of the observed number of connections occurring within the group by chance), the greater the cohesion of the group. This criterion makes it possible to accomplish the purpose specified in the beginning of this section: to remove from a PC those members whose connections with the set are weak. Once a PC has been constituted by the procedures described in the earlier sections, we can experimentally remove members, starting with those having the smallest number of connections with the other members of the PC and the most numerous connections with individuals in the universe. If the removal of such a member results in a decrease in z , then this member does not contribute to the cohesion of the clique--quite to the contrary. He is therefore removed from the clique. This process of tentative removal is continued until the removal of a member results in an increase in z . Such a member remains, of course, a member of the clique.

Criterion 3 can, then, be restated as follows:

Criterion 3: No individual can be a clique member if his removal from the clique would decrease the clique's z .

Criterion 3 operates not merely as an additional restriction, narrowing further the number of individuals that can be included in a clique by virtue of Criteria 1 and 2. It also introduces a new standard, making it possible to consider not only the outward but the inward choices of potential clique members. In removing a member from the clique, we do not merely count his outward choices, but we also take into consideration the number of times he has been chosen by other members of the clique. This is, of course, a further indication of the strength of his attachment to the clique. Furthermore, the number of choices he makes and receives outside the clique are also taken into account. Every time a member is removed from the group, his removal correspondingly reduces the number of inward and outward choices of some other members, so that those who were included by virtue of choosing other weakly attached members are now also likely to be excluded.

In practice we have observed that this procedure tends to exclude from membership the following three categories of individuals (as well as individuals who

partake to some extent of two of the three categories): (1) individuals who make only two, and sometimes three, choices in the clique, but are not chosen by other clique members; (2) individuals who direct only a small proportion of their outward choices toward members of the clique; and (3) individuals who are already part of some other nucleus (this is a special case or category, the reason for exclusion being the much stronger choice relationship the individual has with the clique that is constituted around the second nucleus than to the clique being constructed).

ACCRETION

Throughout the preceding discussions we have implicitly assumed that only nuclei will be constituted by the search procedure, whereas PCs or cliques will be built up through accretion. We will now formally state this as Criterion 4.

Criterion 4: Every clique consists of one nucleus and such members as may be added to it by accretion.

While this may appear to be a very stringent requirement, in actuality it is not. In practice, individuals that one might add to the nucleus by the search procedure would very frequently be eliminated from the clique again on the basis of Criterion 3, i.e., the members in the new clump added would not be firmly enough attached to the nucleus and to each other to increase the clique's z . There are, of course, instances in which the addition of a clump of members through the search procedure will increase the cohesion of the clique as defined in Criterion 3. Whenever this is the case, we are likely to be faced with a set that has two areas of high density with a low density area between them. Figure 4.9 illustrates such a case. In this illustration, Clump 1 is

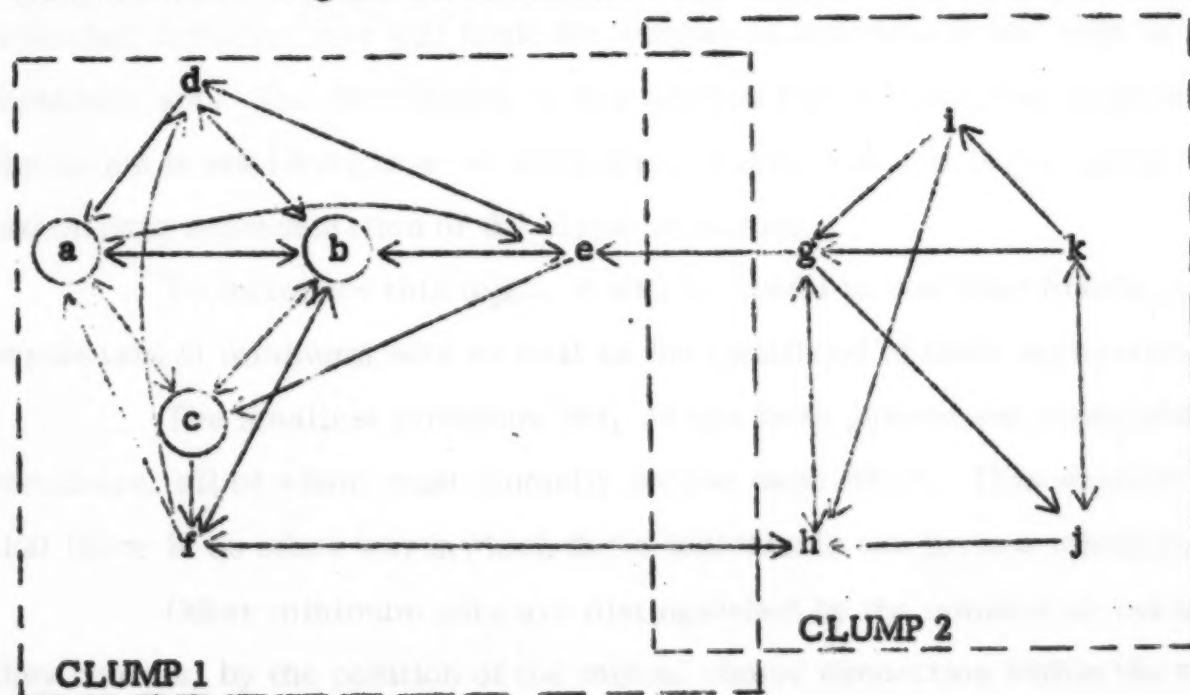


FIGURE
4.9

organized around the nucleus [a, b, c]. Clump 2 is only weakly attached to the first clump, and while its density of choices is fairly heavy, it does not contain a nucleus. Thus, Clump 2 is neither a clique itself, nor does it seem appropriate to attach it to the clique formed around nucleus [a, b, c]. What, then, about Clump 2? Possibly it will become attached to some other nucleus and thus turn out to be part of a different clique. If not, then this group of people is likely to form a star-centered clique, with either g or h taking up the center position. In either event, g and h will be shown to have dual membership, and so will f.

IV. RESTRICTION ON THE SIZE OF MINIMUM SETS

For purposes of discussion we assumed in a previous section that individual minimum sets can be identified with relative ease. As no size restriction was placed upon minimum sets, this assumption obviously does not hold. To realize this, one needs only observe that the size of a minimum set can range between three members and the total number of individuals in a universe, for any "ring" of individuals related by mutual choices to their two immediate neighbors will fulfill the requirements of Criterion 1. And it is at least theoretically conceivable that all the individuals in a universe, however large, can be arranged in such a ring structure. However, the search procedure required to identify very large rings would be extremely complex and time consuming. Large minimum sets with structures more complex than that of the ring would be even more difficult to identify. For this reason, we will introduce a further criterion that will limit the number of individuals who may be included in a minimum set. The discussions in this section will indicate that imposing such a limitation is not likely to work irreparable harm, i.e., it is not likely to result in an unrealistic representation of the clique structure.

To introduce this topic, it will be useful to consider briefly some typical structures of minimum sets as well as the likelihood of their occurrence.

The smallest minimum set, as has been pointed out, consists of three members, all of whom must mutually choose each other. This structure is unique in that there is no other way in which three individuals can form a minimum set.

Other minimum sets are distinguished by the number of mutual choices which they contain, by the position of the mutual choice connection within the total pattern, and

the two mutual choices occupy adjacent sides of the quadrangle. In Diagram B, one of the mutual choices occupies a side of the quadrangle, and the other occupies the diagonal. In order to show the identity of the two patterns we have transposed the labels of the members in Diagram B in such a way as to display its correspondence with Diagram A. Similarly, the minimum set with non-adjacent mutual choices can be represented as we did in Figure 4.10's Diagram B, with the mutual choices occupying two non-adjacent sides of the quadrangle, or as in Figure 4.12's Diagram B, where the mutual choices are located in the diagonals and all the unidirectional choices occupy the sides of the quadrangle.

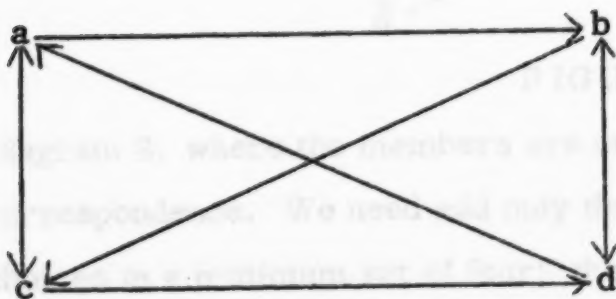


DIAGRAM A

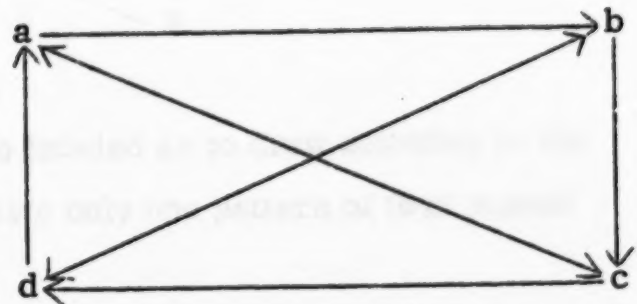


DIAGRAM B

FIGURE 4.12

To complete the picture, let us consider four-member minimum sets with three and four mutual choices. There is only one way in which three mutual choices can be arranged within such a set; they must form a chain. Any other arrangement would produce a three-member minimum set. There are two basic patterns of four-member minimum-sets containing three mutual choices; these are shown in Figure 4.13.

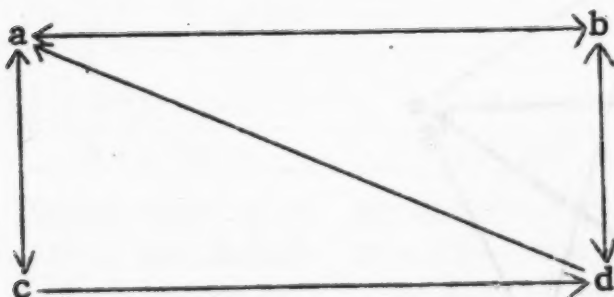


DIAGRAM A

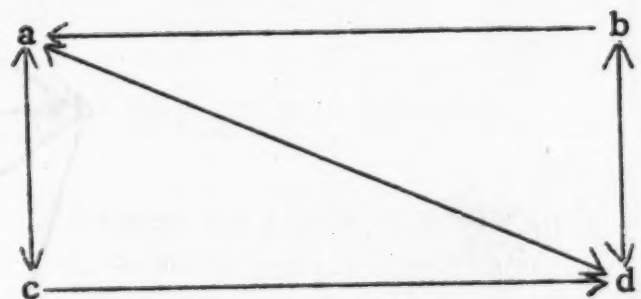


DIAGRAM B

FIGURE 4.13

To see this difference, consider the choices received by the two members, a and b, who stand in a mutual-choice relationship with each other as well as with the two other members. In Diagram A only member a receives a choice from the member with whom he is not involved in a mutual-choice relationship; in Diagram B both a and b receive such choices. To draw attention once more to the possible variations in representation, we show in Figure 4.14 a rearranged version of Figure 4.13's

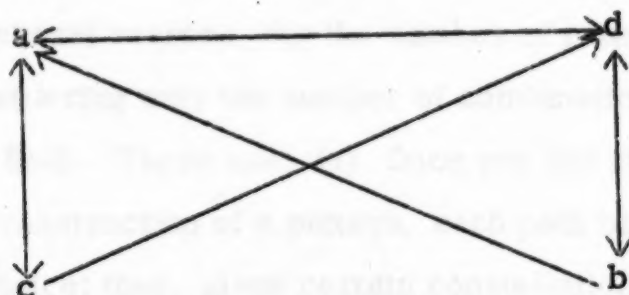


FIGURE 4.14

Diagram B, where the members are once more so labeled as to draw attention to the correspondence. We need add only that there exists only one pattern of four mutual choices in a minimum set of four: the ring.

This experimentation with minimum sets of four shows that the number of possible patterns is not really as large as one might expect. However, the sets of possible patterns get larger as the number of members in the set increases. The five-member set is the first which can be constructed without any mutual choices, since the number of paths available within the pentagon is equal to the number of connections required under Criterion 1. A sketch of such a set appears in Figure 4.15. We note

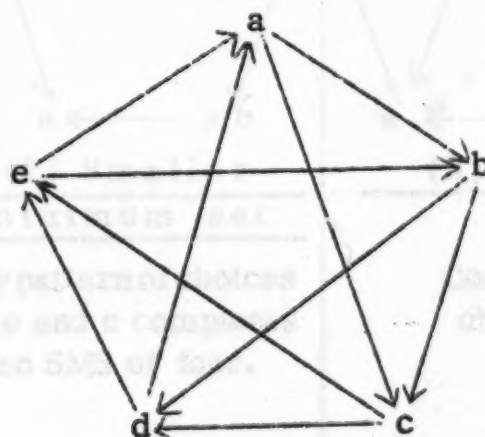


FIGURE 4.15

only in passing that the likelihood of such an arrangement is extremely small, both mathematically and socially. Similarly, there is again only one possible arrangement for five mutual choices in a five-member set: the ring. But, in addition to these unique patterns, there are many containing one, two, three, or four mutual choices. Again, the number of such possible patterns is not nearly as large as one might have anticipated.

There are several reasons why the number of patterns is smaller than one might expect when considering only the number of combinations of two choices available to each member of the SMS. These are: (1) Once one has fixed the number of mutual choices allowed in the construction of a pattern, each path between the members can be occupied by only one choice; thus, given certain constellations of initial choices, it is impossible to complete the pattern because no paths remain for the choices of one or more of the members; (2) some constellations complete a minimum set smaller than the one being constructed; and (3) many patterns are identical, since a mere relabeling of the members will produce one from the other.

The diagrams in Figure 4.16 illustrate these three restrictions. We show the configuration with which the construction is started in solid lines, added choices in dotted lines.

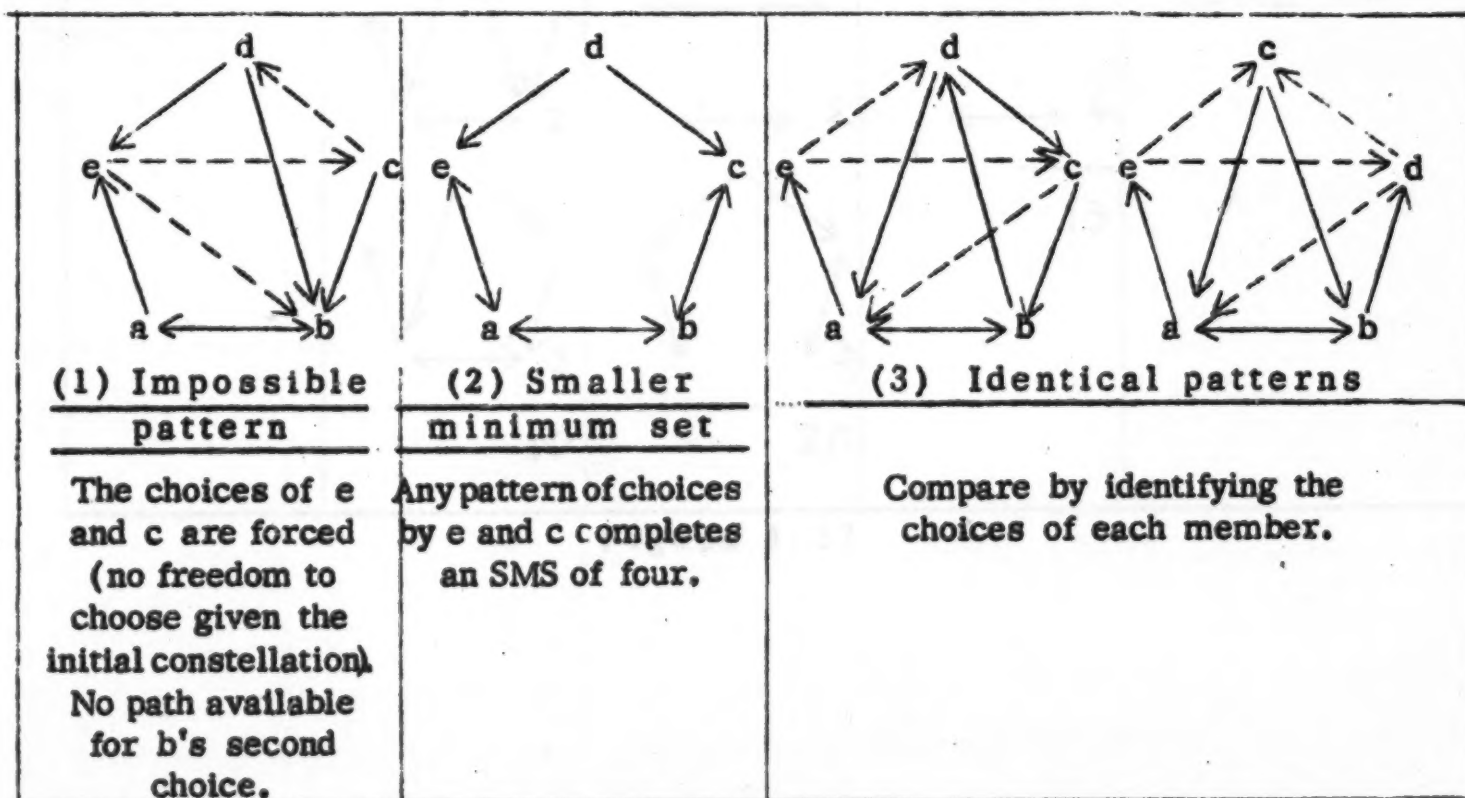


Figure 4.16

Figure 4.17 shows all the basic forms upon which patterns in five-member SMSs can be built. Next to each form is the number of non-identical patterns that can be constructed.

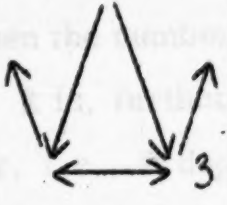
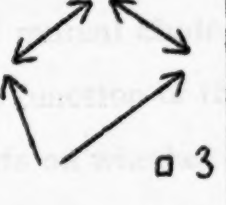
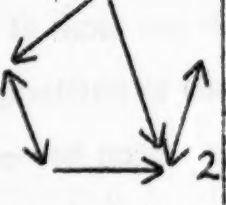
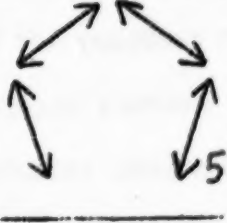
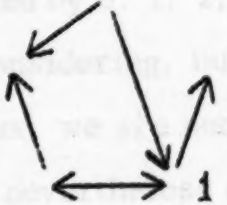
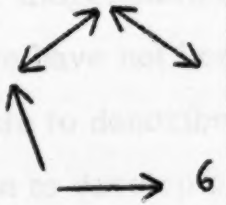
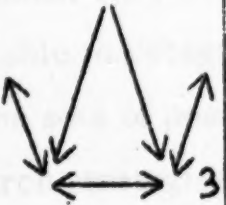
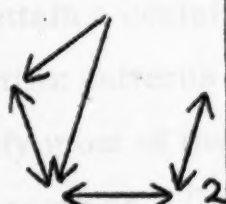
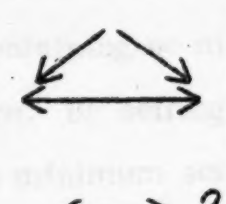
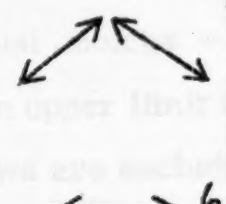
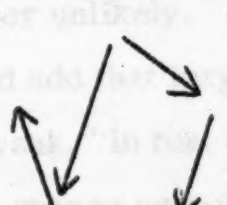
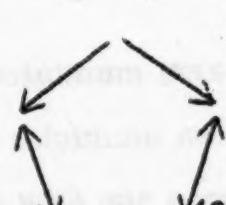
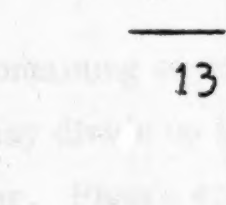
No Mutual Choice	One Mutual Choice	Two Mutual Choices	Three Mutual Choices	Four Mutual Choices
	 3	 3	 2	 5
	 1	 6	 3	Five Mutual Choices
	 1	 6	 2	
	 2	 2	 6	TOTAL 50
	 3	 3	 13	
	10	20		

Figure 4.17

These experiments suggest that, with respect to minimum sets, it should be possible to define "degrees of freedom" analogous to those of statistics. It would be a valuable contribution for a mathematician to define parameters for various types of sets and to develop theorems on the number of degrees of freedom available when these parameters are fixed. We have not tackled this task. But from our experimentation we have learned that the number of degrees of freedom increases with the size of the set, and that it is high when the number of mutual choices is near one-half the number of elements in the set. It is, further, a function of the position of the mutual choices with respect to each other, i.e., it depends on whether the end points of mutual choice connections are separated by 0, 1, 2, or more unidirectional choices. There may be other parameters worth considering, but we have not been able to recognize them as yet.

While, thus, we are not able to describe the sets of possible patterns beyond sets of five, we are nevertheless able to develop search strategies based on the knowledge we have acquired. We know that sets have to attain a certain size before patterns containing no mutual choices become more probable than patterns containing mutual choices. This is to say that we will be able to identify most of the sets for which we are searching by starting out with mutual-choice connections. Only when this fails will we be led to look for patterns containing no mutual choices — and the occasions demanding such searches will be rare. By setting an upper limit for the number of individuals that may be included in a minimum set, we are excluding from consideration events that are rather unlikely.

We should add that large minimum sets containing several mutual choices are likely to be quite "weak," in that the minimum set may divide up into several "clumps" whose members have only sparse relations with one another. Figure 4.18 gives an example of such a set of eight members. There may be some question as to the desirability of

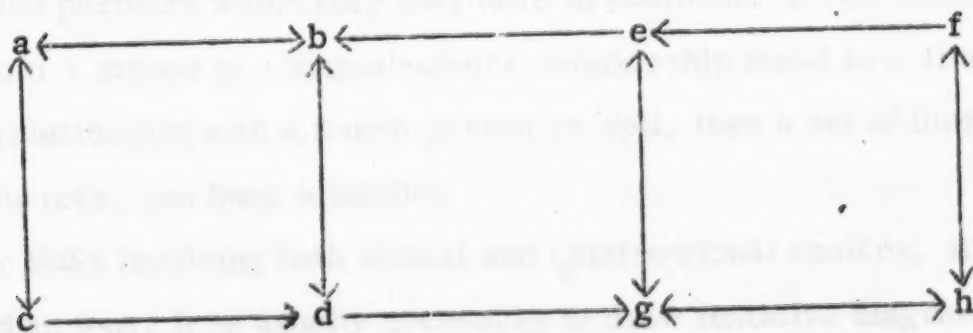


FIGURE 4.18

admitting sets of this size as minimum sets.

In our own work we have not attempted to identify sets of more than seven members. Even so, only one such set was ever found. An upper limit of seven for the size of minimum sets would therefore appear reasonable, and a lower limit would probably cause no damage. We will now describe the procedure we use in identifying minimum sets. This procedure is used for every individual in the universe. It is assumed that for each individual, i , we have a complete list showing all of his inward and outward choices. The steps in the procedure are as follows:

Step 1: Ascertain whether i makes at least two choices. If he does not, go to the next individual.

Step 2: Ascertain whether i makes any mutual choices. These will be recognizable by the presence of the identification numbers of individuals with whom i stands in a mutual-choice relationship in the lists of both his inward and outward choices.

Step 3: If i has two mutual-choice relationships, pull the file cards of the individuals with whom he maintains such relationships. Look at their mutual choices and ascertain whether they choose each other. If they do, a minimum set of three has been identified. If i stands in a mutual-choice relationship with more than two individuals, the file cards for all pairs of such individuals should be examined. This may result in identifying more than one minimum set of three.

Step 4: If i makes two or more mutual choices, but the individuals with whom he stands in such mutual-choice relationships do not choose each other, examine the mutual choices and the inward choices on their cards to identify any choice partners which they may have in common. If two of the individuals with whom i stands in a mutual-choice relationship stand in a similar mutual-choice relationship with a fourth person as well, then a set of four, having a ring structure, has been identified.

For IMSS involving both mutual and unidirectional choices, and for groups larger than four, it is usually necessary to draw tentative diagrams. These take the general form of the diagrams previously shown in this section. In

developing these diagrams, it is most important to choose for examination and graphing of choices those individuals whose addition is most likely to yield a minimum set. This involves a definite sequence of explorations which is described in the following steps.

Step 5: If no set of three or four individuals involved only in mutual choices has been identified, pull all the file cards on the individuals with whom *i* has any connection. Eliminate (refile) those who make less than two choices. Graph all of *i*'s remaining choices -- mutual, inward, and outward.

Step 6: Now examine the choices of all the individuals on the graph and draw in all connections between them. Examine the graph and attempt to identify a set in which every individual makes at least two choices. If this is not possible, identify a set of individuals in which all but one of the number stipulated as required to make up a set make two choices, this last individual making only one choice. If such a set can be identified, go to Step 7. If it cannot be identified, go to Step 8.

Step 7: Examine all of the choices of the individual who makes only one outward choice toward the members of the tentative set. We will call him Individual *j*. Graph all of his connections. Eliminate those that make less than two choices. If any individual who chooses *j* also chooses another person in the tentative set, a minimum set has been identified.

Step 8: If no tentative set has been detected in Step 7, examine and graph all of the connections of the individuals who were added in Step 5. Always eliminate those who make less than two choices. Now continue the procedure outlined in Step 7.

Steps 9 through 14: The procedures of Steps 6, 7, and 8 may now be repeated twice until a minimum set has been identified. If no minimum set has been found at the end of the last iteration, any existing minimum set would have more than seven members and therefore would not be included in our examinations.

It may seem that this procedure would yield extremely complex diagrams and be very time-consuming. In actual fact this is rarely the case. In most instances the

procedure stops at an earlier stage, either because no further individual can be found who makes at least two choices or because all choices made by them are already accounted for in the diagram. As the researcher goes down the list of individuals included in the universe, he will have to examine fewer and fewer connections. As the process continues, each individual included in an IMS is marked by some designation indicating his membership. When his turn comes to be examined the connections tying him to another minimum set are, at first, disregarded. The object, now, is not to identify just any minimum set, but only additional minimum sets of which he may be a member. Connections already used for the IMS of another person are now used only if necessary to constitute a new minimum set involving other individuals choosing the individual now being examined.

We can now formalize what we have developed in the present section as

Criterion 5: No IMS shall have more than seven members.

D. THE "FRINGE"

The cliques that are constituted by the use of the five criteria developed above have at least one important structural characteristic in common. At the center of each there is a nucleus in which the density of connection is particularly great. In addition, the nuclei of many cliques will be surrounded by other members, but in this contiguous area the density of connections will be somewhat less.

Almost every clique is, in addition, surrounded by a "fringe" of people who either choose only one clique or who have been excluded from the clique under Criterion 3 because they do not contribute to clique cohesion. The individuals in this fringe are called "acolytes." As we have stated before, we cannot be certain that acolytes stand in any socially meaningful relationship to a clique as a group rather than merely to some particular member or members. Yet, we argue that even maintaining such personal relationships with only one member of the clique, or else the position of "hanger-on" with respect to several clique members, exposes the individual in some degree to the group life of the clique, to their norms and values, to their interests and activities. In our analyses we therefore use acolyte status as a weak form of clique membership.

We have used in handling acolytes the following rule: The interests and other orientations expressed by acolytes are never used to determine the orientation of the

clique itself. However, attachment of an acolyte to several cliques is taken into account in computing scores to express overlap between cliques. However, having acolytes in common is given less weight than common membership. Finally, in determining pluralistic participation of individuals, acolytes with multiple clique attachments are given a lower pluralism score than members with multiple group attachment (all other things, such as similarity between the cliques, being equal).

V. STAR-CENTERED CLIQUES

The procedures for detecting membership cliques, which we have described in the preceding paragraphs, do not permit us to constitute two types of cliques which we have frequently observed in our diagrams. We have called these star cliques and followings.

STAR CLIQUES

The star clique has a high density of choices in its area, frequently as high as or higher than that required for membership cliques but cannot be constituted as such because it contains no minimum set satisfying Criterion 1. In most instances, the reason there is no minimum set is that the most highly chosen person reciprocates few if any of the choices.

In order to include such configurations in our analyses, we have developed special criteria for star cliques:

Criterion 6: Individuals who receive at least 5 choices from other individuals in the universe are called stars.

Criterion 7: Only stars that are not members of membership cliques may be used as starting points for the construction of star cliques.

Criterion 8: The number of connections found within a star clique must be at least twice the number of its members, including the star.

Criterion 9: No individual may be included in a star clique if he chooses only the star and no other member of the clique.

The use of these criteria produces cliques which are in many respects similar to membership cliques. The main difference is that the star is exempted from the requirements of Criterion 1. Further, no attempt is made to carry the membership beyond the group of individuals who choose the star. Finally, no attempt is made to

eliminate members whose removal would increase the cohesion of the group.

We have not applied to star cliques the additional criteria which we have formulated for membership cliques because, in many instances, star cliques overlap very heavily with membership cliques. In a way, this overlap is an artifact of the procedures that we have employed. The star about whom the star clique is centered would have been a member of a membership clique had he not failed to make an appropriate number of choices. There are several possible reasons for this failure: (1) The star is much less generous with his personal affection than are his followers (this appears to be rather frequently the case); (2) The star has simply neglected to answer the appropriate part of the questionnaire; (3) The star is himself highly pluralistic in his attachments and chooses his friends in a variety of cliques.

In view of these rather frequent circumstances, the tracing of the inward choices of members of star cliques would result in the incorporation into such star cliques of major portions, if not the entire membership, of membership cliques. This is clearly undesirable.

Since the method of accretion is not used in constituting star cliques, the process of eliminating individuals who do not contribute to the cohesion of the clique cannot be used. If it were possible to apply this procedure, it would probably rarely result in the elimination of members from a star clique.

Star cliques are in some respects comparable with membership cliques. Their cohesion, as measured by z , is at approximately the same level as that of membership cliques. On the other hand, star cliques lack the neat definition of boundaries that we have been able to impose upon membership cliques. Not only do they overlap with membership cliques in the manner we have described, but they also overlap heavily with each other. When we discuss crowd formation we will point out some steps we have taken to reduce this effect.

Star cliques have acolytes, just as membership cliques do. An acolyte of a star clique is an individual who chooses the star of the clique but no other member, or who chooses one or more members of the clique. In our further analyses, acolytes of star cliques are treated in the same way as acolytes of membership cliques.

FOLLOWINGS

Followings are sets of individuals who choose a star (and sometimes are chosen in turn by the star) but have very few if any connections with each other. Followings tend to be a little more isolated from membership cliques than are star cliques.

In order to constitute followings, we use only Criteria 6, 7, and 8. Clearly, the following is the weakest kind of clique constituted by our procedures. The only thing that holds it together is the attachment of the included individuals to the star. For this reason, we consider only the star himself a member of the group; all the members of the followings are considered acolytes.

VI. THE RELATIONSHIP OF VARIOUS TYPES OF CLIQUES TO EACH OTHER

Without any doubt, our procedures would have been "cleaner" and more elegant if it had been possible to apply only one set of criteria for the constitution of cliques. And among the various types of cliques which we have constituted, membership cliques are certainly to be preferred in view of the rigor of the analyses, the definition of boundaries, and the fairly uniform conditions under which overlap takes place. Criterion 3, which restricts membership to those individuals who contribute something to the cohesion of the clique, is extremely useful in that respect. Criterion 2, which rules out individuals who would become members only by choosing members of some second nucleus, is similarly useful. Neither of these criteria operate in the case of star cliques and followings. On the other hand, it must be recognized that reality does not willingly submit to the rigid formulations of the researcher. It is a simple fact of experience that not all cliques are so constructed that all members choose two other members of the same set.

The construction of star cliques remedies the difficulties introduced by Criterion 1. In many instances star cliques are found to contain one or more small sets of individuals which miss being IMSs "by a hair." These are frequently sets in which one of the individuals fails to make the second choice that would complete the set under Criterion 1.

Followings, on the other hand, have a somewhat different function. They tend to fill up the gaps occurring between membership cliques and star cliques. The main difficulty with all star-centered cliques is that they tend to overlap heavily, and that this overlap is a

mere artifact of the procedure. Whenever two stars that have not become parts of membership groups choose each other, they will either become members of each other's star clique, or appear as acolytes in each other's following. If each of such a pair is the center of a star clique, then all of the members of one star clique will appear as acolytes in the other star clique unless they become members by virtue of a dual choice. The artificiality of the overlap that is characteristic of star-centered cliques must be taken into account in the interpretation of data based on these techniques.

VII. THE CONSTRUCTION OF CROWDS

The number of cliques that might be found in a universe as large as the student body of a high school is considerable. In School A, with 495 students, we detected a total of 46 cliques. Of these, 32 were membership cliques, 4 were star cliques, and 10 were followings. In School D, a much larger school with 1,209 students, we detected a total of 173 cliques. Of these 48 were membership cliques, 24 were star cliques, and 101 were followings. Clearly, it would be impossible to sustain the notion that there are important qualitative differences between all of these cliques. As we have pointed out before, some of the groupings of individuals into star-centered cliques are an artifact of our procedure. Moreover, it is to be expected that several of the cliques will differ from each other only in respect to trivial factors such as differences in grade level and chance factors affecting association in high schools like being assigned to the same English class. To be sure, slight differences in values, orientations, interests and the like will occur between any two groups, and to some extent participation in several cliques must be counted as some sort of pluralistic participation. Even participation in several cliques with similar values and activities may set up conflicts for their members as the result of rivalries, questions concerning time allotted to each group of friends, differences in the esoteric language which becomes the currency of each clique, or differences in the affective tone which pervades a clique. However, our theory of pluralistic participation calls for more obvious, less subtle, and less accidental criteria for distinction between cliques.

There are two methods by which one can decide whether two or more cliques are qualitatively similar or different. We have employed both of these methods. The first calls for scoring each pair of groups on the amount of overlap they display. We

assume that cliques having many members and acolytes in common are more similar to each other in their interests and values than are cliques which do not display such overlap. This may not be entirely accurate, since some cliques are restricted to a particular grade; separate cliques of similar values and interests may exist at different grade levels. To the extent that our assumption is correct, however, the scoring of all pairs of groups on the amount of overlapping between them should permit us to group cliques in such a way as to constitute crowds.

The second system for determining the similarity or dissimilarity of a pair of cliques in which an individual is involved is to learn something about the activities and interests of their members. For this purpose we have utilized the information in the group-structure questionnaires. Our procedure will be described in a later section.

The constitution of crowds on the basis of amount of group overlap calls, first of all, for the calculation of similarity scores between cliques. A great many systems can, no doubt, be devised to compute such scores. We have chosen a fairly simple weighting system, which weights dual membership twice as heavily in calculating similarity scores as it does dual acolyte status. Membership status in one clique and acolyte status in the other is given a weight of 1.5.

The procedure consists in counting the number of members and acolytes which any given pair of groups have in common. Similarly counted are individuals who are acolytes in one clique and members in the other. The three totals are then multiplied by the weights specified in the preceding paragraph and the products added.

The sums of products found by this procedure must now be standardized to allow for differences in group sizes. Clearly, if two groups with ten members apiece have one member in common, they overlap to a greater extent than do two groups of twenty members apiece which likewise have one member in common. In order to obtain similarity scores for all pairs of groups, the sums of products found by the procedure described in the preceding paragraph are divided by the maximum scores that groups can attain, given their respective sizes.

This maximum score is calculated as follows: the membership sizes of the two groups are compared, and the smaller of these two numbers multiplied by two. This product is twice the maximum number of members that the two groups can have

in common. The smaller number of members is then subtracted from the larger and the difference remaining is the number of members in the larger group not yet matched with anyone in the smaller group. This difference is then compared with the number of acolytes found in the clique having the smaller number of members. The smaller of these two numbers is multiplied by 1.5, and the resulting product is the maximum contribution to the similarity score that can be obtained from the dual status of individuals who are members in one group and acolytes in the other. Again, the smaller figure is subtracted from the larger and, if the number of acolytes in the second group is larger than the number of members used for matching in the first group, there will be a remainder of acolytes. This remainder of acolytes is now compared with the number of acolytes in the first group and the smaller of the two numbers multiplied by 1. The sum of the three products thus obtained is the maximum similarity score obtainable for the two groups.

Once similarity scores have been obtained for all cliques, they can be shown in a matrix which can then be used for the constitution of crowds. Any number of typological procedures might be used for crowd construction, but in the present study we have employed the Elementary Linkage Analysis developed by Professor Louis L. McQuitty.* Professor McQuitty defines the types he constitutes in terms of "persons." The same definition may also be given in terms of cliques or other groups. He says: "A type is . . . defined as a category of persons of such a nature that everyone in the category is in some way more like some other person in the category than he is like anyone not in the category" (p. 213). Translated into our terms, this definition would read: "A crowd is defined as a category of cliques of such a nature that every clique in the crowd has a greater amount of overlap with some clique in the same crowd than with any other clique."

Professor McQuitty's procedure consists in first identifying the highest of the similarity scores of each clique with any other clique. If the similarity scores of two cliques with each other are the highest in their respective sets of similarity scores, then these two are considered the starting points of a crowd. One then attaches to the two starter cliques such other cliques as have their highest similarity scores with each of the

*Louis L. McQuitty, "Elementary Linkage Analysis for Isolating Orthogonal and Oblique Types and Typal Relevancies," Educational and Sociological Measurement, XVII (1957), 207-229.

two starter cliques. In turn, one finds the cliques who have their highest similarity scores with the cliques that have just been added to the crowd, and the process is continued, until there are no further cliques with high similarity scores linking them to those already included.

In practice, this process is carried out through certain fairly simple operations on a sociometric matrix, symmetric about its principal axis, whose cells contain the similarity scores for all pairs of entities (persons, groups, etc.) whose designations appear in both the column and row headings. One first finds and marks the highest score in each column. Then, starting from the highest pair of scores in the matrix, one designates the starter pair. The rows of this pair are now examined for the occurrence of marked scores (column maxima), and entities having these scores in common with one of the members of the starter pair are added to the type. This process is continued for the new entities added until exhaustion.

For the specific purposes of this project, we have modified this procedure somewhat. The purpose of our modifications is to mitigate, if not eliminate, the undesirable effects of the dual set of criteria used in constituting membership cliques and star-centered cliques. As we explained before, the similarity scores relating star-centered cliques to each other and to membership cliques are generally higher than the similarity scores between pairs of membership cliques. Had we used the procedure developed by Professor McQuitty without modification, most of our crowds would have had star-centered cliques for starting points, while membership cliques would have been attached to them. Consequently the membership cliques would have appeared frequently on the periphery of the crowds. This is clearly an unrealistic picture of the actual group structure, and it is also inconsistent with the procedures we used initially in constituting the cliques. It will be remembered that star cliques were formed out of the "left-overs," after membership cliques had been constituted. Finally, it will also be recalled that some star-centered cliques tend to form at the boundaries of membership cliques. In many instances, individuals included in a membership clique choose a certain star who does not himself become a member of their clique because he does not reciprocate. Except for Criterion 1, he would have been included. In such a case, the very high similarity score between a membership clique and a star-centered clique does not reflect

overlap between two clearly distinct social entities; rather, it arises from the method we used in constituting the cliques. It would be clearly undesirable to use as a starting point for a crowd such a high similarity score between a membership clique and a star clique formed at its boundary.

The first modification which we have introduced to take care of these difficulties consists in disregarding all similarity scores which might result in attaching membership cliques to star-centered cliques. If all similarity scores are shown in a symmetric matrix, and if the names of membership cliques are listed first and star cliques second in the column headings and on the stub, then this modification calls for the omission of all similarity scores which could be entered in the lower left-hand corner of the matrix (see Figure 4.19). If this is done, no star clique can be matched with a membership clique

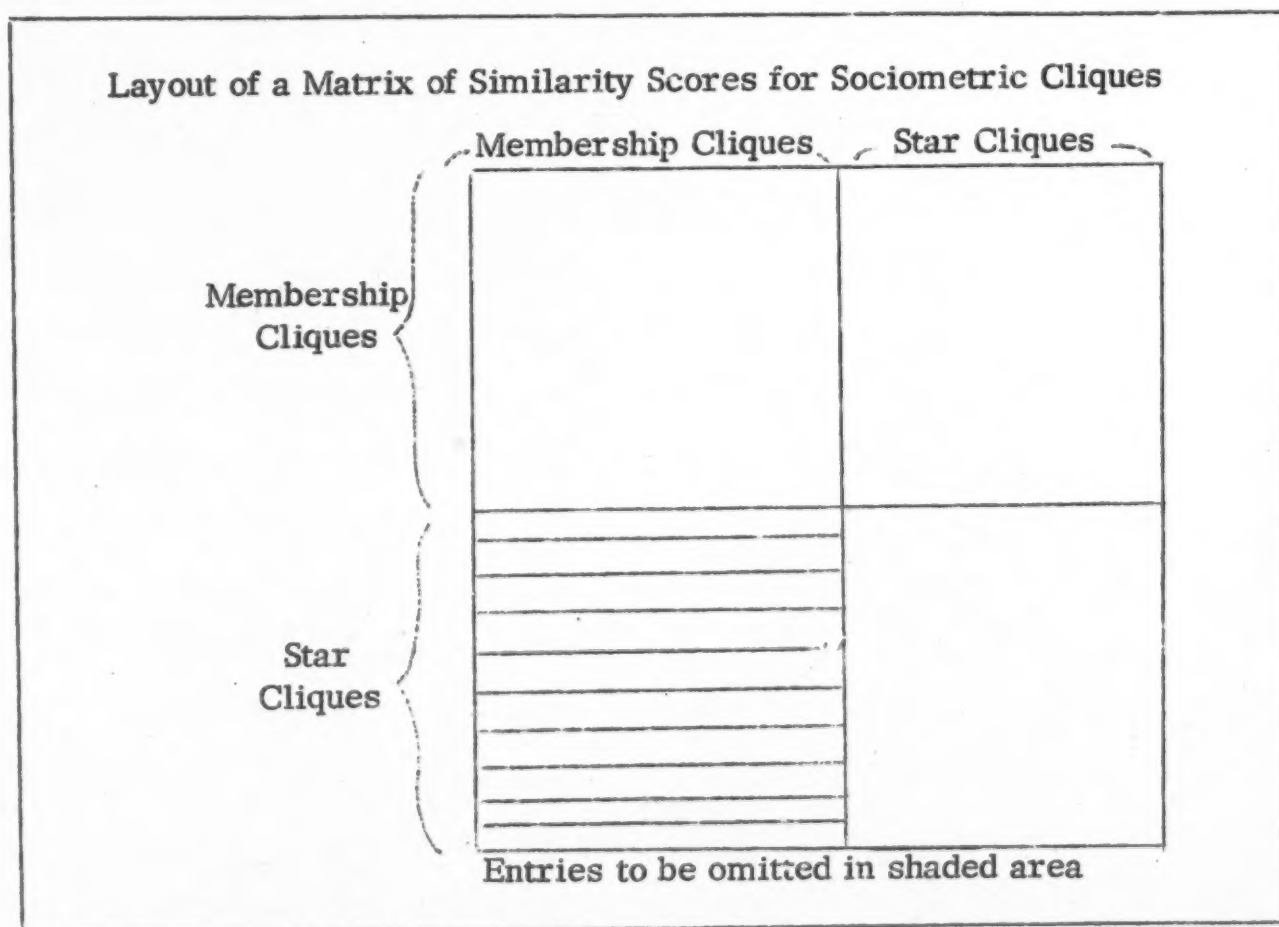


FIGURE 4.19

to form the starting pair of a crowd, nor can any membership clique become attached to a star clique, since the scores that would be needed for this purpose would have to be located in the lower left-hand region of the matrix. Consequently, the only crowd

structures that can result from this procedure are (1) a structure with at least two membership cliques at its center (which may be surrounded by other membership cliques and/or star-centered cliques), and (2) an arrangement consisting entirely of star-centered crowds.

The second modification we introduced involves certain mergers of crowds after they have been constituted by the procedure thus far described. Some of the crowds consisting entirely of star-centered cliques were merged with crowds having membership cliques at their center. This was done because the generally higher level of similarity scores in the crowds of star-centered cliques does not necessarily reflect the existence of separate social structures. Certain crowds consisting entirely of star-centered cliques would have become parts of membership crowds had it not been for this difference in the general level of scores.

In determining which star crowds should be incorporated into membership crowds, we utilize the maximum scores to be found in each column in the upper right-hand corner of the matrix, the quadrant which links star cliques to membership cliques (that is to say, a second set of maxima is observed in the columns, disregarding any maxima which may occur in the lower right-hand quadrant). If both star crowds in the starter pair have their maximum scores with cliques belonging to the same membership crowd, then the two crowds are merged, i.e., the two star cliques in the starter pair are attached to cliques in the membership crowd. In the four instances in which this was done, some other star cliques in the same crowd also had maxima in common with membership cliques in the crowd to which their starter pair became attached.

One of the great advantages of Professor McQuitty's procedure is that it forms discrete types (without overlap) or, in our case, discrete crowds. Clearly, while overlap between cliques is essential to make the diagnosis of pluralistic participation possible, we would have gotten into considerable difficulty had we defined crowds in such a manner that the same clique could belong to more than one of them. (Crowds which are discrete with respect to the cliques which compose them do not, of course, rule out overlapping memberships of individuals.) The question may be raised whether this process does not suppress or leave unutilized a great deal of information, inasmuch as only maximum scores are used for crowd formation and all other connections between cliques are

disregarded. We have examined a number of crowds with this criticism in mind and found that the crowd structure would not have been very different had we used the second largest scores in addition to, or instead of, the maxima. That is to say, a clique which shares a considerable number of its members with some other clique tends to share the second largest number of its members with some third clique in the same crowd. This observation gives us considerable confidence in the appropriateness of Elementary Linkage Analysis for our purposes.

One difficulty arises, however, if one wishes to insure complete discreteness of crowds. It arises whenever a given clique has several scores of equal magnitude in its column, and these are its largest scores. Such a clique could, then, become attached to several different cliques, and this may place it in several different crowds. In order to break such ties we use two different procedures, depending on whether the clique in question is a membership clique or a star-centered clique. If a star-centered clique, we again use the maximum in the upper right-hand corner of the matrix and attach the clique to the membership crowd indicated by this maximum. If a membership clique, we utilize the second largest score to break the tie.

The crowds constituted by this process vary considerably in their level of cohesion. The first crowd extracted from the matrix tends to be the most cohesive, since its starter pair had the largest similarity score. Of course, in its outer regions, one may find cliques that are only weakly attached to the crowd. Each crowd subsequently identified in the matrix has at its core a starter pair with a somewhat lower similarity score, and its cohesion will therefore tend to be somewhat lower than that of the preceding crowd. It may well be argued that the last crowds extracted, those with very low similarity scores at their core and consequently very low cohesion between cliques, are merely "left-overs," cliques thrown together by the existence of some chance overlap or respondent error. To rule out this possibility, one would have to set some level below which a similarity score would be considered a chance score. This would imply a greater knowledge of the sampling distribution of similarity scores than we currently possess. In the absence of such knowledge, we did not feel justified in setting some particular level and in declaring some crowds mere chance conglomerations.

In the absence of any restrictions limiting the minimum allowable similarity

score, nearly every clique is assigned to a crowd. The only cliques not so assigned are the ones displaying no overlap whatsoever with other cliques. In evaluating our findings regarding crowds, it should be kept in mind that some cliques are only tenuously attached to other cliques in the same crowd. As a result, therefore, their similarity to those located more centrally in the crowd is sometimes not very marked. Crowds are possibly not quite so cohesive as one would prefer.

VIII. EVALUATION OF CLIQUE AND CROWD CONSTRUCTION PROCEDURES

The procedures which we have devised for constituting crowds and cliques have four main advantages:

1. Not only mutual choices but also unidirectional choices are utilized in constructing cliques. This removes some of the artificiality of previous clique construction procedures which utilized only mutual choices.

2. Degrees of participation can be roughly determined. The distinction between members and acolytes makes it possible to recognize individuals who are fairly firmly involved in a clique and to differentiate them from those less firmly committed. Scores reflecting pluralistic participation can therefore be based not merely on the many-sidedness of an individual's attachment, but also upon his degree of involvement in each of the cliques to which he belongs. Thus, if an individual is an acolyte in several cliques, his pluralistic participation score can be made lower than if he were a member in several or a member in some and an acolyte in others. It might be possible to devise even more finely discriminating scores by taking into consideration the actual number of connections between individuals and other members or acolytes in a clique. We have considered using as a clique-participation score for an individual some function of the change in z that would be brought about by his removal from the group, but the calculations necessary for such fine scoring would consume a prohibitive amount of time unless done by computers. At the present stage of the investigation, without a computer program written for this purpose, we had to content ourselves with merely designating individuals as members and acolytes.

3. The procedure does not require that the entire sociometrix matrix

be operated upon at one given time. Starting points for the constitution of cliques are first identified in the matrix, and cliques and crowds are built up from these starting points. This means that the procedure can be employed by researchers who do not have a computer at their disposal, though even researchers with a machine available may find that the size of their sociometric matrix exceeds the memory capacity of the computer. If this occurs, it may be possible to write programs which will accept only part of the taped data, operate on that part and, having constituted cliques from the data first accepted, then go on to work on additional data taken from the tape on repeated inputs.

4. The procedure does not restrict the researcher to the use of a single model. Membership cliques, star cliques, and followings are essentially different structures which exist in the real world and whose existence in a universe is significant. The universe in which memberships predominate have, no doubt, a more communal type of organization than those in which star cliques and followings are most common. The relative frequencies of the various types of cliques therefore tells us something about the structure of the universe itself.

The main disadvantages of the method lie in the discrepancies between the criteria used for constituting membership cliques and star-centered cliques.

The rules determining boundaries of membership cliques are much more precise than those applying to star-centered cliques. Hence, similarity scores computed between pairs of each type do not tend to lie within the same ranges and cannot be given the same meaning. Similarly, while we can always be sure that crowds consisting of membership cliques are definitely aggregates of distinct social units, we cannot say this with equal certainty about crowds consisting only of star-centered cliques.

This difficulty is, of course, the consequence of our using two or three different clique models. We think, however, that these difficulties might be removed by further refinements in the methods. It should not be impossible to define acceptable criteria for the merger of cliques whose separate existence can be ascribed merely to the

peculiarity of our method and not to actual distinctions in the social world. Other criteria could be devised to attach stars to the membership clique from which they draw most of their inward choices if they themselves do not become members of this clique under Criterion 1.

Some improvements may also be made in this constitution of crowds. As we pointed out before, cliques might be excluded from crowds if their similarity scores do not reach a certain acceptable level. On the other hand, it might prove desirable to enlarge crowds by adding individuals who do not hold clique membership. One could decide, for instance, that any individual who is an acolyte in two cliques that belong to the same crowd shall be considered a crowd member without clique membership. Any individual choosing such a crowd member without clique membership would then be considered a crowd acolyte. We have not taken this step in the current study for lack of time.

If it were considered advisable to identify crowd members and crowd acolytes, certain precautions would have to be taken when evaluating the clique acolyte status of individuals. Under our current procedures an individual can become an acolyte in two or more cliques in two ways: (1) he can choose individuals in the several cliques, or (2) he can choose only one person who is himself a member of the several cliques. It is doubtful that the latter type of acolyte should be declared a crowd member, since he chooses only one person in the crowd.

Given the current state of our procedures, we cannot be certain that multiple clique membership is a good measure of pluralistic participation. Rather, it should be considered a measure of the extent of participation, the social diffusion of a person's contacts and activities. On the other hand, multiple crowd membership is definitely a sign of pluralism. Belonging to several cliques which are not very distinct as to their memberships is not likely to set up the types of tension in an individual's environment which we associate with pluralistic participation. On the other hand, such tensions may be felt by individuals belonging to different crowds since these are much more distinct from each other than are our cliques belonging to the same crowd. The degree of overlap between cliques belonging to different crowds tends to be small -- the very procedures

used to constitute crowds produce this effect. In our analyses of data, therefore, we will use multiple crowd membership as an index of pluralism in preference to mere multiple clique membership.

In the introductory chapter, we distinguished between two kinds of displacement. In the strictly clinical sense, the term refers to libidinal impulses (whether of love or of hatred) whose satisfaction toward some primary object is blocked or which must find expression in relation to some secondary object; in a larger and looser sense, the term designates any kind of emotionally motivated displacement. It is unlikely that the first kind of displacement would be discovered in a questionnaire study such as the one we have conducted. Indeed, the data we are about to present in this chapter lend no support whatever to such a hypothesis. If the instrument we have devised were capable of detecting Freudian displacement, we would expect negative correlations between the items referring to our first between adults and young people (which can be presumed to refer to parent-child relationships) and other items. No such correlations are to be observed. Typically, information about Freudian displacement comes from prolonged and repeated interviews, such as Maslow's early study reported in *Psychopathology and Politics*, or Lind's investigation of Negro subjects in *Political Ideology*. This leaves unresolved the question whether displacement may be considered a social phenomenon of some importance and, indeed, to what extent it exists in the selected cases interviewed by the investigator. It is hardly conceivable that a clinical interviewer, after having spent many hours with a subject in intensive dialogue, would come to the conclusion that the political beliefs of an individual have no relationship whatever to his psycho-dynamic characteristics, or, indeed, that there is no trace of displacement of unacceptable impulses.

In the pages to follow we will therefore be concerned with the general structure of conflict orientations and use the term displacement in a generic sense, to describe the relationships between similar attitudes toward different objects.

We begin by asking the question with respect to what persons or institutions displacement is likely to take place. In this study, we are investigating the hypothesis that some characteristics of the social structure in which the young

CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

I. INFLUENCES OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ENVIRONMENTS

In the introductory chapter, we distinguished between two main types of displacement. In the strictly clinical sense, the term refers to libidinal impulses (whether of love or of hatred) whose expression toward some primary object is blocked and which must find expression in relation to some secondary object; in a larger and looser sense, the term designates any kind of emotionally based transfer of learning. It is unlikely that the first kind of displacement would be discovered in a questionnaire study such as the one we have conducted. Indeed, the data we are about to present in this chapter lend no support whatsoever to such a hypothesis. If the instruments we have devised were capable of detecting Freudian displacement, we would expect negative correlations between the items referring to conflict between adults and young people (which can be presumed to refer to parent-child relationships) and other item sets. No such correlations are to be observed.

Typically, information about Freudian displacement comes from prolonged and repeated interviews, such as Lasswell's early study reported in Psychopathology and Politics, or Lane's investigation of fifteen subjects in Political Ideology. This leaves unsolved the question whether displacement may be considered a social phenomenon of some importance and, indeed, to what extent it exists in the selected cases interviewed by the investigators. It is hardly conceivable that a clinical interviewer, after having spent many hours with a subject in intensive dialogue, would come to the conclusion that the political beliefs of an individual have no relationship whatever to his psycho-dynamic characteristics, or, indeed, that there is no trace of displacement of unacceptable impulses.

In the pages to follow we will therefore be concerned with the general structure of conflict orientations and use the term displacement in a generic sense, to describe the relationships between similar attitudes toward different objects.

We begin by asking the question with respect to what persons or institutions displacement is likely to take place. In this study, we are investigating the hypothesis that some characteristics of the social structure in which the young

person grows up to help shape his orientations toward the political world. This hypothesis is similar to that of Almond and Verba who, in *The Civic Culture*, report that participation in family decisions, in decisions in school and at the place of work relate to a feeling of personal civic competence.¹ A similar question in the early version of our instruments, administered in communities B and C, will give us some clue to the psychological relationships between mental images of various institutions. We asked the respondents to state how much they thought they had to say -- or would have to say in the future -- about the way things are done in their families, among their friends, in school, at work, in the community and in the nation. The correlation matrix in Table 5.1 contains the correlation coefficients for both communities. The similarity of the results from these two rather different cities gives us some confidence that we are dealing with a general characteristic of young people rather than with the peculiarities of some one community.

TABLE 5.2
SENSE OF PERSONAL EFFICACY
CORRELATION MATRIX
COMMUNITIES B AND C

	Family	Friends	Work	Community	Country
School	.12	.12	.09	.24	.23
	.16	.07	.08	.27	.33
Family		.28	.10	.08	.04
		.26	.02	.13	.07
Friends			.08	.20	.10
			.09	.14	.10
Work				.20	.15
				.16	.16
Community					.55
					.60

Community C: The upper figure in each cell. N = 484-492 due to incomplete responses.

Community B: The lower figure in each cell. N = 513-526 due to incomplete responses.

*Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 346-368.

While most of the correlations are rather low, two clusters of variables appear in the matrix: the first of these consists of community, nation, and school, the second of family and friends. There exists a low correlation between friends and community, and between work and community. Clearly, if a factor analysis had been attempted, two factors would have emerged: the first grouping the institutions based on personal contacts, the second those embodying secondary relations. The school clearly belongs into the second cluster of institutions; students who have a high sense of efficacy in school expect to be efficacious, later on, in their community or nation. If displacement of attitudes learned in these institutions is to take place, it is most likely to occur between the school and the political institutions, not between the family and the community or nation.

The question may be raised why our results should differ from those obtained by Almond and Verba in five different countries. In all probability, the answer relates to the ages of the respondents: the respondents in the five-nation study were adults, ours were adolescents. With very little or no work experience to their credit, young people are not likely to see the place of work as an institution in which they can make their influence felt. Moreover, adolescents probably make a sharper distinction than do adults between the primary and the secondary environments, since the family of orientation is experienced as a social entity more remote from the surrounding social world than is the family of procreation.

Since the hypothesis underlying this study specifies just this sort of displacement, we decided to investigate the extent to which the alternative hypothesis -- that of family influence upon the formation of political orientation -- might be justified. To this end, we conducted a small number of interviews with students and their parents in community C. The sixty cases originally selected for this study were chosen from the high school student population by a process of stratified probability sampling. The strata were determined from the questionnaire responses on the basis of the father's occupations and the children's grade level. Parents and children were questioned extensively about mutual relationships, particularly about

"problems" (i.e. conflicts) arising in the home and about the way these were handled. The parents were also given the questionnaire items about adolescent friendship groups, immigration, and social conflict which appeared on the questionnaire administered in the school.

Of the sixty respondents selected, fifty-four were actually interviewed; in the other six instances, the parents either refused to cooperate or repeatedly broke appointments. In each family, either the father or the mother was selected for interviewing according to a random selection table. The results of this procedure are even more disappointing than we had anticipated.

The interviews yielded very little material which might help to determine whether the child learned anything about conflict and its resolution in the family. Most of the problems mentioned by the respondents dealt with trivial matters, such as curfew and permission to use the family car, and there was no evidence that these were handled "politically," i.e. by any process of bargaining or any stratagem other than direct pressure and counter-pressure. Nor were we able, in spite of a considerable amount of probing, to obtain any expression of feeling about basic values or disagreements about them. Indeed the most startling result of the interviews was that there appears to be very little communication in the families, except about the most trivial things.

In an effort to ascertain whether there is any similarity between the responses of parents and of their children, we used a correlation technique. For each pair of child and parent, we computed seven correlation coefficients, each over a set of related questions. The seven question sets were: (1) a set of items dealing with the child's actual behavior (obedience, conduct, doing one's share, goal striving, open-mindedness, etc.), (2) problems arising in parent-child relations, (3) media consumption and interest in public affairs, (4) adolescent friendship groups, (5) immigration, (6) and (7) two types of conflicts in the public arena. In addition, we correlated the responses of each parent with those of another child -- not his own -- randomly selected from his child's stratum. Table 5.2 shows the mean correlation coefficients obtained by this procedure.

TABLE 5.2
AVERAGE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR MATCHED AND UNMATCHED
PAIRS OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.
FIFTY-SIX PAIRS OF SUBJECTS, COMMUNITY C

	Behavior	Problems	Interests	Groups	Immigra - tion	Conflict 1	Conflict 2
Matched pairs	.39	.29	.51	.26	.30	.26	.22
Unmatched pairs	.30	.33	.45	.32	.23	.23	.27

The range of the correlation coefficient goes from $-.08$ to $.91$, and only very few of the correlation coefficients are negative. On none of the seven sets of questions do properly matched pairs of parents and children generally obtain higher correlation coefficients than do randomly matched pairs.

It may seem bitter irony if we observe that the scores of parents and their own children agree no more (and sometimes less) than those of randomly matched pairs; yet the positive means (and the lack of negative correlations) indicate that the phenomenon is far from random. If the correlations were solely a matter of chance, we would expect close to symmetric distributions with means of zero. The predominance of positive correlations can be explained only by the existence of some common response patterns characteristic of all parents and children. In other words, the responses to the questions we have posed are determined by cultural factors rather than the specific experiences of parents and children in their own families.

As the means indicate, the highest correlations occur on the set of questions dealing with media consumption and interest in public affairs. Here, as with all other question sets, the distribution of correlation for parents and children is scarcely different from that for randomly matched pairs. The high correlations must be due to our matching the pairs -- systematically or randomly -- within strata. We have not attempted to match adolescents and adults completely at random, but it seems reasonable that patterns of media consumption and of interest in public affairs -- or the response patterns concerning such matters -- are characteristic of social

strata. If this is true, the correlations on the media-interest variables would be particularly high because they reflect not only general cultural patterns but also those of the sub-cultures of social classes.

We conclude, then, that orientations toward the political world are in all probability primarily a cultural phenomenon. There is doubtless a close relationship between the social structures of the community or the school and cultural values, so that both of them cooperate in generating orientations toward the political world. This conclusion may seem to be contrary to other findings which argue for a strong influence of the family on political attitudes. But the studies on which these generalizations are based typically deal with party affiliation. No doubt, party affiliation in this country is inherited in the same way as religious denomination. But this no more implies the inheritance of any particular orientations toward the social world than does the inheritance of a religious label imply the inheritance of some particular attitude toward life. Parties persist, but the content of their policies changes with the requirements of the times. In this study, we are not dealing with identifications of which party affiliations form a part, but rather with the content of political ideology and action.

II. ASPECTS OF CONFLICT

In much of this report we will explore the hypothesis that orientations toward conflict in general and toward political phenomena in particular, are acquired in the social context of secondary relations. The learning of such orientations may take two forms: (1) the learner may either generalize from his own personal experience, or (2) the orientations he acquires may be communicated to him as part of the group culture of which he partakes. We will have to consider both of these possibilities.

For the present, our task is to make explicit what we mean by conflict orientations and what realities correspond to this concept. In particular, we will have to specify various aspects of conflict orientations and try to determine whether these form a coherent whole in the minds of our respondents. Only after this is done will we be able to investigate the specific orientations that are being acquired by the adolescents.

Our instrument was designed to study several sets of variables which we regard as aspects of conflict orientations. These fall into the categories of (1) perceptions, (2) behavioral preferences and values, and (3) group orientations.

Several perception variables are measured by the five sets of dyadic items relating to the conflict between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., between young people and adults, between business and labor, between Whites and Negroes, and between Democrats and Republicans. By computing indices over these sets of items, we are able to study the following aspects of conflict perceptions:

- (1) The extent to which either, or both or neither of the two opponents are regarded as active in the conflict situation (Conflict Role Index, CRI);
- (2) The extent to which a given opponent, or a pair of them, are considered to have caused the conflict (Conflict Cause Index, CCI);
- (3) Beliefs that certain circumstances, attitudes, or behavioral patterns typically generate conflict (Index of Conflict Origins, COI);
- (4) Consistency in conflict perception, i.e. the extent to which the five conflict situations are perceived to have similar attributes (Index of the Consistency of Perceptions, CPI).

A fifth perception variable, which includes emotional reactions to conflict, is represented by the two "blame scales" attached to each of the five question sets. These are intended to indicate the degree to which the respondent disapproves of each opponent in a conflict or of both of them. If we compare the scores on each pair of scales, we obtain a measure of the difference in the amount of guilt the respondent imputes to each opponent, the "Blame Balance" (BB); if we consider only the highest score on either of the two scales, we obtain an indication of the respondent's punitiveness, the "Blame Weight" (BW).

Behavioral preferences and values include two types of items: (1) the questions, attached to each of the five dyadic item sets, asking the respondent to identify with one of the opponents and to state how this participant should act

("Solutions"); and six sets of paired comparisons, which require that the respondent indicate what values participants in the conflict pursue.

Group orientations are, in this study, feelings of exclusiveness concerning one's own group and of intolerance toward groups considered deviant. Such feelings are commonly believed to contribute to conflict. Inasmuch as this study deals with the effects which participation in formal and informal groups may have upon attitudes, it was reasonable to hypothesize that group orientations may mediate between the variables of participation and attitude. Two types of questions deal with these orientations: (1) a set of items exploring the consequences of participation on homogeneous and in heterogeneous friendship groups, with a corresponding set, almost identically phrased, relating to admission of immigrants into this country; and (2) four parallel questions asking respondents what sanctions, if any, should be employed against four types of non-conformists (Communists, atheists, people suspected of disloyalty, and "people who don't believe in the sanctity of marriage").

The answers to all of these questions show a common general trend: the predominant answers are almost always those which depreciate the importance of conflict. The patterns of answers leave one with the impression that young people generally tend to see conflict as somehow unnatural, due to confusion and carelessness, rather than to the deliberate action of men pursuing their interests or acting in accord with their true motivations. There are, of course, exceptions, as for instance in the case of the Russians, whose actions are considered somewhat less reputable than those of other people. Table 5.3 shows, for instance, that 80% of the respondents attribute to the Russians a desire to control, and 66% believe that they put self-interest above the common good. Similar motivations are much less frequently attributed to other conflict opponents -- sixty per cent of the respondents perceive no self-interest in either Democrats or Republicans.

Indeed, the main point made by the majority of the responses is that no one, except perhaps Russia, the publicly designated arch-enemy, is guilty of evil intentions. And even in the case of the Russian, amorality, vindictiveness and stubbornness, i.e. specifically personal faults, are less frequently perceived than characteristics connected with their role in world affairs. Overall, the tendency is to check both items

TABLE 5.3
RESPONSES TO FIVE SETS OF ITEMS DEALING WITH PERCEPTIONS
OF CONFLICT, COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED, IN PER CENT

of any given pair, indicating that both opponents engage in the same kind of action. And in the "both" column, the most popular responses categories -- the reasons most frequently assigned to the development of conflict -- are those alleging mutual lack of understanding and divergencies in beliefs. It is as though the respondents were saying that "it's all in the mind" (indeed, the famous UNESCO declaration made the same point). However, the categories of "superiority" and "control" also draw considerable proportions of responses.

A few cells in the table bear pointing out. Over forty per cent of the respondents consider adults distrustful and desirous to control. It is only in the relations between adults and young people that these two motives are the most frequently imputed, and the pattern of percentages most nearly resembling this one is that characterizing whites in conflict with Negroes. Since we are not yet considering relationships between items, the most we can say is that the culture which produces these response patterns tends to favor imputation of these two motives to the controlling group. Beyond this, it would be difficult to argue that the responses to the five conflict situations fall into very similar patterns. Aside from the tendency to treat all conflicts as due to defective communication (i.e. lack of understanding or differences in beliefs), the respondents seem to perceive each conflict as a separate kind of phenomenon.

The behavior patterns or motivations which respondents assign to opponents in conflict situations stand out more clearly in Tables 5.4 and 5.5. The first of these shows the percentages of students who indicate (by assigning a rank) that at least one of the two items shown in the heading should be considered an important cause of conflict. Understanding-Beliefs, and Superiority-Control are clearly the most frequently named causes, with the latter more frequent in conflicts that seem particularly acute. In Table 5.5, these causes have been ranked, to show the correspondence between the relative frequencies. If rank correlations were computed between these arrays, they would in general turn out fairly high. The major disturbance in the otherwise similar patterns of ranks is due to the placement of the

TABLE 5.4
 MOST IMPORTANT REASONS FOR CONFLICT.
 PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS SELECTING EITHER OR BOTH OF FIVE
 RESPONSE CONTENT CATEGORIES AS "IMPORTANT" REASONS FOR
 CONFLICT, COMMUNITIES A AND D

		Understanding- Beliefs	Superiority- Control	Fear Distrust	Immorality- Self-interest	Stubbornness- Vindictive- ness
U.S.-	A	50.6	52.3	35.7	23.2	21.7
U.S.S.R.	D	60.3	64.7	31.5	39.9	28.9
	Total	57.5	61.1	47.0	35.1	26.9
Adults -	A	73.8	18.6	23.2	19.7	15.2
Youth	D	70.8	35.5	33.6	30.2	21.2
	Total	71.7	30.6	30.6	27.2	19.4
Business -	A	53.7	24.4	20.9	26.6	24.2
Labor	D	55.2	38.5	33.3	31.4	31.3
	Total	54.7	34.5	29.7	30.1	29.2
White -	A	40.8	49.2	20.5	15.0	13.9
Negro	D	51.5	59.3	35.9	28.3	26.3
	Total	48.4	56.4	31.5	24.5	22.7
Republican -	A	41.8	37.5	10.9	9.8	16.6
Democrat	D	48.7	49.0	18.2	20.6	26.2
	Total	46.7	45.7	16.1	17.5	23.5

TABLE 5.5

RANK ORDERS OF TEN CAUSES OF CONFLICT BASED ON RESPONSE FREQUENCIES, BY RESPONSE CATEGORIES AND TYPES OF CONFLICT COMBINED DATA FOR COMMUNITIES A AND D

	First Opponents					Second Opponents				
	US	Adults	Business	Whites	Democrats	USSR	Youth	Labor	Negroes	Republicans
Superiority	3	3	1	1	1.5	6	3.5	7.5	5.5	2.5
Fear	4.5	9	3	6.5	9	9	3.5	7.5	5.5	9.5
Lack of understanding	6	5	7.5	8	9	8	5	6	9	7.5
Vindictiveness	7	6	10	5	5.5	5	8	9.5	7.5	9.5
Distrust	1	1	5	4	9	10	10	3	10	5
Stubbornness	8	7	6	6.5	5.5	4	7	4	4	5
Beliefs	2	4	7.5	10	5.5	7	6	9.5	7.5	7.5
Self-interest	4.5	8	2	3	1.5	2	1	2	3	1
Desire to control	10	2	4	2	3	1	9	1	2	2.5
Amoral behavior	9	10	9	9	5.5	3	2	5	1	5
BOTH										
	US-	Adults-	Business-	Whites-	Democrats-	US-	Adults-	Business-	Whites-	Democrats-
	USSR	Youth	Labor	Negroes	Republicans	USSR	Youth	Labor	Negroes	Republicans
Superiority	4.5	7.5	6	5	3	6	5	8.5	10	8
Fear	4.5	10	7	9	9	1	1	3	1	2
Lack of understanding	3	2	2	2	5.5	5	9	7	8	4
Vindictiveness	7	5	9	6.5	4	2	2.5	1.5	3	7
Distrust	2	7.5	3	3	5.5	8	7	6	6	5
Stubbornness	6	5	4	4	7	3	2.5	5	4	3
Beliefs	1	1	1	1	1	9	10	10	9	10
Self-interest	9	5	5	8	8	7	6	8.5	5	6
Desire to control	8	3	8	10	2	10	8	4	7	9
Amoral behavior	10	9	10	6.5	10	4	4	1.5	2	1

Distrust item, which particularly characterizes the motives of the U.S. in her relations with Russia and that of adults in their contacts with young people.

As could be expected, the relationships between corresponding items in different question sets are not particularly high. The contingency coefficients describing these relationships are presented in Table 5.6. There is no pair of conflicts which, in the respondents' perceptions shows, by comparison to other pairs, a particularly close relationship. By the same token, it is certainly not possible to argue that generational conflict (conflict between "adults and young people") serves as the prototype of other conflicts. Thus, with respect to conflict perceptions, the hypothesis that young people generalize from their experience of generational conflict can certainly not be sustained. The coefficients associated with "Understanding" and "Beliefs" are, on the whole, slightly higher than those associated with other items, indicating the greater generality of this perceptual category. This is not the case for "Desire to Control" and "Superiority," since these two content categories are associated with specific conflicts.

We will show later in this chapter that Blame indices do not exhibit any strong relationships to one another either. For the time being, it will suffice to show the averages of these indices for the five question sets (see Table 5.7). Both Blame Balance and Blame Weight averages appear to vary with the perceived seriousness of the conflict. If this analysis is accurate, it must be concluded that students in high school do not take the conflict between Democrats and Republicans very seriously.

III. VALUES AND BEHAVIORAL PREFERENCES

One of the earlier hypotheses in this study was that values might strongly affect political perceptions and behavior orientations. Furthermore, values might be shared by formal and informal groups, so that the propagation of value positions by the members of the group might account for political perceptions and orientations. We were soon disabused. Values did not bear any relationships to any other items in the instrument; for this reason, the value items were relegated to the end of the re-

TABLE 5.6
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CORRESPONDING ITEMS IN CONFLICTING SCALE
FOR ALL PAIRS OF CONFLICT SITUATIONS.
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENTS* FOR COMMUNITIES A AND D**

		Generational vs. International	Generational vs. Industrial	Generational vs. Racial	Generational vs. Political	International vs. Industrial	International vs. Racial	International vs. Political	Industrial vs. Racial	Industrial vs. Political	Racial vs. Political
Superiority	A	.22	.32	.18	.26	.25	.23	.18	.18	.28	.31
	D	.17	.25	.19	.15	.22	.14	.22	.16	.28	.29
Fear	A	.31	.33	.29	.20	.21	.31	.19	.31	.34	.25
	D	.12	.21	.23	.26	.26	.29	.24	.28	.32	.25
Lack of under- standing	A	.32	.31	.33	.29	.31	.31	.24	.35	.41	.37
	D	.26	.28	.31	.21	.28	.30	.27	.32	.33	.31
Vindictive- ness	A	.23	.26	.27	.21	.31	.23	.23	.34	.31	.18
	D	.22	.28	.24	.27	.21	.22	.24	.26	.32	.29
Distrust	A	.17	.17	.18	.24	.15	.19	.18	.26	.36	.21
	D	.15	.17	.23	.29	.21	.18	.22	.28	.29	.23
Stubborn- ness	A	.22	.28	.29	.34	.29	.24	.25	.36	.37	.34
	D	.25	.30	.24	.35	.27	.22	.24	.27	.35	.24
Beliefs	A	.27	.37	.33	.35	.28	.22	.31	.36	.42	.44
	D	.26	.29	.30	.36	.25	.26	.29	.28	.35	.38
Self- interest	A	.32	.22	.22	.22	.26	.24	.19	.24	.27	.27
	D	.34	.31	.27	.28	.21	.18	.22	.21	.31	.29
Desire for control	A	.21	.14	.20	.20	.19	.13	.32	.24	.26	.29
	D	.17	.23	.22	.26	.16	.17	.13	.20	.27	.31
Amoral behavior	A	.18	.23	.26	.35	.28	.13	.31	.29	.37	.37
	D	.19	.28	.22	.27	.23	.20	.25	.23	.39	.31

*The upper limit of the contingency coefficients for these 9 d.f. tables is .87.

**N's vary between 381 and 477 for Community A and between 394 and 1190 for Community D, due to non-response or incomplete questionnaires.

TABLE 5.7
BLAME SCORE AVERAGES, COMMUNITIES A AND D

Conflict	Blame Balance		Blame Weight	
	A	D	A	D
Adult-Youth	1.3	1.2	5.5	5.4
U.S.-U.S.S.R	2.8	2.7	6.6	6.1
Business-Labor	1.2	1.3	5.3	5.3
White-Negro	1.8	2.0	5.5	6.0
Democrat-Republican	0.5	0.8	3.9	4.1

vised instruments, so that students who finished the other questions rapidly would be kept busy and prevented from disturbing the other students. As a result, only about two-thirds of the students in communities A and D answered these question sets, and those who answered may be expected to belong to the higher IQ groups. For these reasons, we will briefly present the data from communities B and C, and some summary statistics for communities A and D.

In Table 5.8 we show the percentages of all responses, among students in C and B, which indicate a preference for a given value over any others. "Respect" and "Good Friends" are clearly most highly prized among all students, and it is obvious that they believe their feelings about this will not change as they grow up. Furthermore, they attribute the same value preferences to public figures and entities, such as nations and labor union leaders, although the percentages of responses in the "Friends" category show some discrimination between self and public figures. Self-assertion ("to stand up for oneself") runs a close third among the six values, and almost equal proportions of the responses express preferences for this value with respect to the self and to all other social figures and aggregates. Greater variations are to be observed with respect to values that are not particularly popular, so that labor leaders or politicians may be perceived as wanting to be "important" while students themselves commonly have no such ambitions.

The values drawing the highest number of preference responses refer, at bottom, to ascriptive properties. Certainly and interesting life, importance and wealth must, in the case of most students, be achieved, while respect and friendship

TABLE 5.8
TENDENCY TO ATTRIBUTE PREFERENCES FOR SIX VALUES
TO VARIOUS INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIAL AGGREGATES.
STUDENT POPULATIONS, COMMUNITIES C AND B
IN PER CENT OF ALL RESPONSES

INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIAL AGGREGATES							
Values	Communi- nity	Self ¹ as Student	Self as Adult	Great Nation	Labor Union Leader	Negroes ² as a Group	Politician
Respect	C	76	79	76	70	81	79
	B	78	78	74	68	71	77
Friends	C	81	74	58	55	59	58
	B	74	71	55	57	51	57
Self- Assertion	C	63	62	62	61	64	51
	B	61	59	60	59	63	47
Interests	C	44	37	29	23	34	20
	B	40	32	31	22	39	22
Importance	C	26	25	48	57	43	56
	B	29	27	47	56	42	60
Wealth	C	13	26	29	35	24	32
	B	20	33	32	38	31	22

¹N for 1st four entities, C=239; B=224

²N for Negroes and Politician, C=238; B=280

are essentially values one enjoys by virtue of one's social position. The only "popular" value which may be viewed as referring to an achieved characteristic is self-assertion; still, it does not refer to goals for which the individual may be striving but rather to momentary reactions in cases of social adversity. Thus, it may be argued that the distinction between the private and the public sphere, which we seem to observe in these data, is precisely one between ascription and consumption on the one hand, and achievement and goal striving on the other. For this reason, one might become skeptical about the possibility that orientations acquired in personal contacts might easily transfer to the public sphere.

The data for A and D show quite similar results. Table 5.9 exhibits the average value preference scores for the two cities combined. The scores, which range from 0 to 4, reflect the number of paired comparisons in which an individual preferred a given value to any other. Since, in this version of the questionnaire, we used the term "Power" rather than "Importance," the differences between private and public values stand out even more sharply than in the earlier edition.

TABLE 5.9
AVERAGE VALUE PREFERENCE SCORES
COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED

	Student Now	Student as Adult	Labor Leader	Powerful Nation	Negro	Political Leader
Power	0.22	0.55	2.73	2.16	0.85	2.35
Good Friends	2.69	2.52	1.73	2.04	2.56	2.10
Respect	2.82	2.83	2.65	2.71	2.96	2.89
Self-assertion	2.29	2.27	2.21	2.64	2.38	1.83
Interesting Life	1.96	1.82	0.67	0.42	1.24	0.80

If the value items indicate a certain division between the private and the public spheres, this is much less the case with respect to conflict solutions. The five parallel "solutions" questions, essentially, discriminate between degrees of toughness (or softness) in dealing with an opponent. As Table 5.10 shows, the fourth of the five responses, which recommends a flexible but not entirely unprincipled approach to the opponent, draws about two-thirds of all responses; the only exception is the conflict between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. -- only a little over half of the respondents chose this alternative here.

IV. GROUP ORIENTATIONS

In responding to the two sets of group orientation items dealing with friendship groups and with immigration, our respondents exhibit a certain amount of ambivalence which reflects rather accurately both the culture of the high school and of the country. Pride in one's group, and unity among its members are regarded

TABLE 5.10
SOLUTIONS PROPOSED FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICTS
COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED, IN PER CENT

	Adults	Youth	U.S.	Opponent		
				Business or Labor	White or Negro	Democrat or Republican
No Good to Talk	0.8	1.2	2.4	0.7	2.3	1.7
Talk Only if Opponent Gives In	3.4	3.8	4.0	2.7	2.9	2.5
Agreement Without Changing Principles	13.4	10.7	30.9	19.9	19.2	23.2
Exchange Ideas to Agree	69.4	65.7	53.7	64.5	64.8	61.1
Change Views to Avoid Conflict	13.0	18.6	8.9	12.2	10.8	11.5

as good things, but exclusiveness is contrary to the ethic of equalitarianism. The means of response scores, shown on Table 5.11, are based on fairly flat distributions whose standard deviations cluster about the value of 1.4. As the figures show, the responses indicating exclusiveness occur more frequently with respect to the nation than to one's own friendship group. In general, students seem to discount the disadvantages that might arise from confining one's contacts to people of backgrounds similar to one's own (particularly in the case of the nation); but at the same time, they vigorously acknowledge the advantages of admitting people from different backgrounds, so as to avoid conformity and have the opportunity to learn how to get along with different types of people. The correlations between corresponding items for friendship groups and the nation are generally low, although most are significant beyond the .001 level. While there appears to be a general group orientation, other factors -- such as patriotism, egalitarianism, and general broad-mindedness evidently account for the variability in scores.

The factor analysis in Table 5.12 will help to give a clearer understanding of these group orientations. For the purpose of this analysis, all items were re-scored in such a way that the high end of the scale always denotes a positive orientation toward the respondent's own group and nation and a corresponding desire

TABLE 5.11

CONSEQUENCES OF ADMITTING INDIVIDUALS SIMILAR TO OR DIFFERENT FROM ONE'S GROUP AND NATION. CORRELATIONS AND MEANS FOR CORRESPONDING ITEMS.* COMMUNITIES A AND D¹

Consequences of Admitting Similar Individuals	Community	r	Group (Mean)	Nation (Mean)
Avoid disagreements over group (national) goals	A	.28	2.8	3.2
	D	.22	3.0	3.3
Take more pride in your group (nation)	A	.25	3.1	3.9
	D	.21	3.1	3.7
Miss knowing interesting people	A	.20	3.4	2.8
	D	.18	3.3	2.8
Have a more united group (nation)	A	.11	3.1	3.6
	D	.13	3.1	3.5
Come to believe that own people are better than others	A	.20	2.4	1.8
	D	.21	2.6	2.1
Come to distrust people who are different	A	.24	2.8	1.8
	D	.17	2.8	2.0
Consequences of Admitting Different Individuals				
Associate with people of low moral character	A	.18	3.0	2.5
	D	.18	2.9	2.6
Maintain individuality	A	.13	3.5	3.3
	D	.20	3.4	3.3
Trouble between rich and poor people	A	.24	2.7	2.7
	D	.16	2.7	2.7
Be less narrow-minded	A	.26	3.3	3.4
	D	.31	3.3	3.3
Associate with people who have false and dangerous beliefs	A	.17	3.2	2.8
	D	.19	3.0	2.9
Learn to make friends with different people	A	.31	4.4	4.4
	D	.31	4.0	4.2

*The disagree-agree scale is rescored 1-5. A mean of 3 thus corresponds to the neutral position on the scale.

¹A: N=426-445

D: N= 1016-1052

TABLE 5.12
 FACTOR ANALYSIS OF PARALLEL SETS OF ITEMS DEALING WITH
 HOMOGENEITY OF FRIENDSHIP GROUPS AND OF NATION.
 COMMUNITY A -- VARIMAX ROTATION OF FOUR FACTORS

		FACTORS				
		1	2	3	4	
		"Differences"	"Unity"	"Individuality"	"In-group"	
GROUP HOMOGENEITY	IF SAME:					
	Avoid disagreement about group goals	+	.1246	.5848	-.0056	-.1487
	Take more pride in group	+	.0956	.4499	.1543	.2949
	Miss knowing interesting people	-	-.0130	-.1240	.0460	-.6032
	More united group	+	.1679	.3870	.2762	.1367
	Believe friends are better than others	-	.2826	-.0285	-.1659	-.6286
	End up distrusting "different" people	-	.3754	-.1108	-.0763	-.5952
	IF DIFFERENT:					
	Too close to people with poor moral standards	+	.5008	.1546	-.1765	-.1904
	Not forced to be like every-one	-	-.0109	.1737	.2207	-.5232
	Trouble between well off and poor	+	.5287	.1459	-.1073	-.2643
	Less narrow-minded	-	-.0906	.0825	.3746	-.4763
	Near people with wrong beliefs	+	.4839	.0935	-.0467	-.0707
	Learn to make friends	-	-.1735	.0289	.5270	.0365
NATIONAL HOMOGENEITY	IF LIKE US:					
	Avoid disagreement about national goals	+	.1363	.6267	-.0346	-.0221
	Take more pride in country	+	.0839	.6808	-.0016	.0773
	Miss interesting people	-	.1128	-.2688	.5325	-.1795
	More united country	+	.0014	.6298	.0071	-.0838
	Believe we are better than others	-	.4881	-.3696	.2527	-.1292
	End up distrusting "different" people	-	.5091	-.3254	.2921	-.0728
	IF DIFFERENT:					
	Let in people with low morals	+	.6131	.1051	.0623	.0937
	Not forced to be alike	-	.1712	.0347	.4604	.0153
	Trouble between rich and poor	+	.5020	.1672	-.0302	-.1097
	Less narrow-minded	-	-.0432	.0370	.5522	-.1277
	Let in people with wrong beliefs	+	.6199	.0878	.0259	.2361
	Learn to get along with different people	-	-.0927	.0961	.6309	.0908

to exclude people from differing backgrounds. In order to facilitate the reading of this table, we have indicated the direction of each item (combined with the "foil" which introduces it) by a plus or minus sign. A plus sign shows that an affirmative response to the item denotes a positive group orientation.

The pattern of factor loadings clearly shows that, on all factors, people tend to be consistent in the direction of their responses. We can therefore say that all four factors describe dimensions of group orientations. But the exceptions are noteworthy. The first factor, which seems to deal with the consequences of association between socially, ethically and ideologically different people has four of its high positive loadings on positive items and two on negative items. It reflects a peculiar ambivalence which foresees trouble between rich and poor people, worries about the influence of people with poor moral standards and opposes letting in people with impalatable beliefs, but which at the same time, sees the danger of feeling superior to or distrusting others. The second factor appears to deal exclusively with group unity, the third with individuality, while the fourth concerns only the friendship group and its character as an in-group.

Clearly, group participation in a culture which emphasizes equality and openness (at least in words if not always in practice) is not a simple matter. Neither are the attitudes that go with, or are generated by, such participation. In view of the complexity of the factor structure, it is difficult to imagine how group orientations, if they were acquired through the experience of participation, could easily be transferred to political situations.

The ambivalence about group orientations and the distinction previously encountered between private and public matters are observable also in the responses to the four questions dealing with non-conformists. Here the problem is to reconcile the liberal tenets of American constitutional democracy with the feelings of antipathy toward those who place themselves outside generally accepted norms. Table 5.13 reports the relative frequencies of index scores for the four variables. For each of the four items, it was necessary to construct a somewhat different index depending on the response patterns, but the numbers are roughly comparable. Clearly, severe

TABLE 5.13
SANCTIONS FOR NON-CONFORMITY ADVOCATED BY RESPONDENTS.
COMMUNITIES A AND D, COMBINED, IN PER CENT

	0 (no sanction)	Index of Severity of Sanction					Total
		1	2	3	4	5 (severe sanction)	
People disbelieving in sanctity of marriage	66.0	18.2	16.8				100
Atheists	70.9	10.6	16.0	2.2			100
People suspected to be disloyal	50.2	5.3	6.4	14.9	17.6	5.6	100
Communists	16.7	6.5	9.0	15.0	23.2	29.6	100

sanctions against those whose non-conformity affects only their private behavior are extremely rare. Moreover, two-thirds or more of the students would apply no sanctions to such individuals. The response patterns are drastically different for people whose behavior affects public matters, with more than half of the students being willing to deprive Communists of the right to vote and of liberty. Once more, in view of the apparent separateness of the public and private spheres of experience, it seems doubtful that transfer of learning from one to the other is likely to take place.

V. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ASPECTS OF CONFLICT ORIENTATIONS

We must now raise the question whether the variables which we have treated as "aspects" of conflict orientations form in any sense a coherent cluster. Indeed, do conflict orientations exist anywhere outside the mind of the researcher? Do these perceptions, behavioral preferences, and group orientations relate to each other, or do they exist as isolated parts of experience and cognitions?

We started out from the expectation that the manner in which we perceive the social world, particularly the world of conflict, relates in a significant manner to our expectations concerning outcomes, and, indeed, our preferences. The most startling result of the first questionnaire, administered in B and C, was the virtual absence of relationships between perceived sources of conflict and expected outcomes. Table 5.14 reports these results.

TABLE 5.14
SOURCES AND OUTCOMES OF INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT.
CORRELATION MATRIX.
COMMUNITIES B AND C (N=489-493)

Sources of Conflict		Outcomes of Conflict							
		1. A convinces B that A is right	2. A forces B to give in	3. A and B each give in a little	4. C makes A and B stop	5. A and B become exhausted and quit	6. A and b recognize mutual misunderstanding	7. A and B call upon C to settle conflict	8. A and B work out compromise
1. Money and Material Possessions	B	.11	.15	-.07	.11	.10	-.02	.02	-.09
	C	.04	.10	.01	.06	.09	-.03	.02	.01
2. Attempts to Beat Opponent	B	-.04	.10	-.06	.07	.13	.02	.07	-.05
	C	-.06	.13	-.12	.03	.13	-.07	-.00	-.13
3. Attempts to Prove Own Superiority	B	-.03	.14	.01	.06	.08	-.02	.04	-.05
	C	-.07	.17	-.09	.05	.15	-.10	-.01	-.12
4. Attempts to Give Orders	B	.08	.14	-.08	.07	.04	-.05	.02	-.01
	C	-.07	.18	-.04	.06	.06	-.01	-.01	-.01
5. Different Moral Ideas	B	.13	-.04	.06	-.07	.03	.10	.11	.11
	C	-.06	-.03	.08	.03	-.02	.12	.04	.08
6. Lack of Mutual Understanding	B	.07	-.03	.05	.08	.02	.09	.08	.07
	C	-.01	-.00	-.05	.04	.05	.08	.10	.00
7. Stubbornness	B	.07	.15	-.01	.07	.09	-.02	.04	-.04
	C	-.10	.11	-.06	.08	.12	.06	.08	-.08
8. Fear of Compromise	B	.00	.23	-.03	.20	.03	-.09	.02	-.10
	C	-.12	.15	-.11	.12	.18	.08	.08	-.15

Significance levels: $r_{.05} = .09$

$r_{.01} = .11$

To be sure, quite a few of the correlation coefficients exceed conventional significance levels; but all of them are very low. The strongest relationships link the items that suggest fear and coercion, i.e. fear of compromise among the sources of conflict and unilateral coercion among the outcomes.

It was largely because of these disappointing results that the items describing different types of outcomes were dropped in the revised form of the questionnaire. Either young people have no clear images of various types of conflicts (i.e. of the connections that may exist between the origins and outcomes) or else we had not succeeded in formulating items which adequately described the respondents' perceptions. The second version of the questionnaire contains only the Solutions item, which is designed to discriminate between "tough" and "soft" approaches to an opponent.

Table 5.15 shows the relationships which exist between Solutions and several of the indices of conflict orientations which we have computed. The CCI index has been "folded over:" respondents assigning ranks only to item pairs both parts of which they have previously checked receive the high score of 4, while those who rank only item pairs bearing only one check mark receive the low score of 1. This makes it possible to correlate the CCI with other indices.

The correlations in this table are generally low, as they were in the preceding one. A few lessons can nevertheless be drawn from this table. The most important of these is that the solutions envisaged by the respondents are virtually unrelated to any content characteristics of the conflict, i.e. to both the characteristics of the conflict situation and the kinds of action attributed to the opponents. This results rather clearly from the particularly low level of the correlations between Solutions and the five Conflict Origins Indices, only one of which reaches statistical significance. Similarly, Solutions are unrelated to Group Orientations, even though respondents were asked to, and presumably did, identify with the actors suggested by the Solutions questions. There are some slight relationships of Solutions to the CRI, CCI, and the Blame indices. These relationships appear to become stronger the more definitely the conflict lies in the area conventionally

TABLE 5.15
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SOLUTIONS AND SELECTED CONFLICT INDICES
COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED

Actors	CRI				CCI Conflict Cause (Folded Over)	COI					Blame		Group Orientations	
	Conflict Role					Conflict Origin*					Bal - ance	Weight	Friend - ship	Immigra - tion
	First ...	Second ...	Both ...	Neither ...		A	B	C	D	E				
United States	.02	.11	.06	.09	.11	.07	-.02	.08	.01	.05	-.18	.08	.03	.04
Adults	.02	-.06	.08	-.03	.03	.02	.06	.00	.00	.01	-.05	.00	.02	.02
Young People	-.08	.02	.04	.02	.04	-.04	.01	-.06	-.01	.03	-.04	-.03	.04	.03
Business or Labor	-.03	-.12	.07	.03	.08	.00	.01	.02	-.01	.05	-.04	.03	-.02	-.03
Whites or Negroes	.02	-.19	.08	.01	.06	.00	.00	.06	.01	.02	-.10	-.06	.00	-.08
Democrats or Republicans	-.16	-.13	.01	.12	.16	.03	.03	-.06	.03	-.05	-.18	-.13	.05	-.01

*The Categories of the Conflict Origins Index are:

- A - Superiority - Control
- B - Immorality - Self-interest
- C - Fear - Distrust
- D - Lack of Understanding - Beliefs
- E - Stubbornness - Vindictiveness

regard as political. They are strongest in the case of the political party opponents and show about the same level of strength in the cases of international and racial conflict. It should be born in mind, however, that only about half of the respondents completed enough of the questionnaire to receive index scores on the question set concerning Democrats and Republicans, so that in all probability the respondents on this question represent a select group of more alert and perhaps politically more aware students. In any event, the tendency for perceptual indices to be related to solutions, although weak, is no doubt present. On the other hand, the relationships are weakest where young people are considered to be the actors themselves. This phenomenon relates perhaps to the amount of stereotyping of conflicts in which a respondent can engage: the more remote a conflict is from his personal sphere of experience, the easier it is for him to make broad, and sometimes coherent, judgments regarding the roles of the opponents and their culpabilities.

As one might have expected, the Blame Balance Index has a consistently negative relationship to Solutions. It must be remembered that the high end of the Solutions scale denotes "softness" toward an opponent, and the high end of the Blame Balance Scale, imbalance. This means that respondents who distribute the blame evenly tend to adopt "soft" solutions.

This relationship appears even more strongly in Table 5.16, which relates the Conflict Cause Indices to both types of Blame indices, Blame Balance and Blame Weight. The greater the perception of uneven "responsibility" for conflict behavior, the greater the tendency to distribute blame unevenly between the opponents and to blame heavily those engaging in conflict behavior. It should be noted that in both Tables 5.15 and 5.16, the relationships with the Blame Balance Indices are stronger than those with Blame Weight. Clearly, the placing of heavy blame upon others (and also upon oneself) encounters some cultural and, no doubt, personal inhibitions. One way of escaping the feeling of being aggressive is to hold the weight of blame at a medium level while discriminating between opponents as to their relative culpability. This, however, is likely only where the opponents are somewhat remote from the respondents' personal experience: the relationships with Blame Balance are lowest with respect to conflicts between adults and young people.

TABLE 5.16
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CONFLICT CAUSE INDICES (FOLDED OVER)
AND BLAME INDICES, COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED

	Type of Conflict				
	National	Generational	Economic	Racial	Political
Blame Balance	-.28	-.20	-.39	-.37	-.43
Blame Weight	-.10	-.02	-.15	-.21	-.17

It will also be noted that generally there is greater variation between correlations between CCI and Blame than between Solutions and Blame. The latter seem to depend less on the specific context of conflict than the former. Table 5.17, which contains a set of "Consistency" measures confirms this impression. To construct these indices, the scales on which they are based were dichotomized, and respondents were scored on the extent to which they gave high or low responses to all five corresponding question sets. Here we find that inconsistency in Blame is more common than inconsistency in solutions. Less than 10 per cent of the respondents are as inconsistent as is possible in the solutions they propose, while the corresponding percentages range from 35 to 55 per cent on the COI and Blame Weight Indices. Complete consistency is more common in community D than in A, particularly with respect to Solutions.

TABLE 5.17
CONSISTENCY MEASURES, COMMUNITIES A AND D IN PER CENT

Community	Solutions		COI: Under- standing Beliefs		Blame Weight	
	A	D	A	D	A	D
Completely Consistent	4.7	31.6	18.6	30.5	12.1	15.6
Moderately Consistent	44.3	38.2	33.4	34.4	32.0	35.2
	46.1	27.8				
Totally Inconsistent	4.9	7.4	47.9	35.1	55.9	49.1

The main point that seems to emerge from these discussions is that Solutions are psychologically distinct from perceptions, including perceptions of blame. Solutions, as proposed courses of action, are more pragmatic than moral

judgments. To the extent that people identify with one of the opponents, they will feel impelled to recommend certain types of behavior for solving conflict, irrespective of the reasons they think underlie a given conflict or of the ethical responsibilities involved. It is one of the characteristics of conflict that it generates its own dynamics: however it may have come into being, however reluctantly people may have become involved in it, once they find themselves on one or the other side of a battle line people will recommend the strategy which in their view best solves conflict as such -- a "win strategy," a strategy of reconciliation, or one that combines features of both.

One of our tasks in studying the connections between social participation and conflict orientations is precisely to determine what kinds of conflict orientations are likely to be learned in the adolescent's social experience: perceptions of conflict or behavioral preferences.

VI. EXPOSURE AND INTEREST

The indications in this chapter seem to lead to the conclusion that orientations toward conflict may reach a certain amount of specificity if we consider perceptions, but are rather general when we consider proposed solutions to conflict. This is the case in spite of an apparently heavy exposure of young people to information about public affairs. As Table 5.18 shows, over half of the young people claim to be exposed to either newspaper accounts or radio and television news (or both) at least once a day. This figure may be artificially high, as students probably consider frequent newspaper reading and television watching the "right" answer. Nevertheless, there is no doubt a considerable amount of information which to some slight extent impinges on most young people.

That this extent is slight indeed may be gathered from Table 5.19. Making allowance for the fact that the answer "fairly interested" probably reflects no more than a passing interest in public affairs, only 15 to 20 per cent of the students rate themselves really interested in public affairs. These percentages take a further drop when students are asked whether they would consider doing anything

TABLE 5.18
EXPOSURE TO INFORMATION ON AND DISCUSSION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS,
COMMUNITIES A AND D, IN PER CENT

	Reading of Newspaper		Radio and TV		Discussion with Parents		Discussion with Friends	
	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
Never	5.6	6.0	1.2	4.8	4.5	9.5	4.1	8.8
Rarely, less than once a week	2.4	3.1	3.9	6.9	19.7	24.2	20.1	27.1
Sometimes, once a week	3.7	4.8	13.6	16.5	48.9	41.4	47.6	41.7
Fairly often, several times a week	32.1	28.0	28.2	28.0	19.5	18.2	22.5	18.0
Very often, every day	56.8	58.0	37.7	29.5	7.2	7.1	5.9	4.5
More than once a day	--	--	15.4	14.5	--	--	--	--
N	485	1196	486	1199	487	1196	487	1197

TABLE 5.19
INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, COMMUNITIES A AND D, IN PER CENT

	Self-rating		Interest in College Course		Interest in Working for a Political Party	
	A	D	A	D	A	D
Very interested	21.5	15.0	17.9	10.8	8.2	7.2
Fairly interested, wouldn't mind	58.7	52.1	39.2	23.4	36.9	34.4
Slightly interested, would rather not	18.2	27.8	32.4	40.5	45.6	45.4
Not interested	1.9	5.0	10.5	25.1	9.3	12.9
N	484	1193	487	1188	485	1191

THE STRUCTURE OF PARTICIPATION

corresponding to their interest, such as taking a course in this subject if in college, or working for a political party as an adult. Even these rather hypothetical questions bring mostly negative responses.

We do not believe that in a healthy democratic society people should necessarily exhibit a burning interest in public things. The state of health means, to some extent, that people feel safe in allowing others to manage their affairs. Great public interest and excitement are typically associated with periods of crisis. But in our study of the growth of young people's attitudes toward public affairs, we must constantly bear in mind that we are talking about an area that is, at best, marginal to most young people's experience, interest and aspirations.

CHAPTER 6

THE STRUCTURE OF PARTICIPATION

Participation in the formal and informal group structure of the high school places young people in a system of social stratification -- we have argued this point already in Chapter 2. We will now examine, in quantitative terms, the structures of participation in communities A and D and discuss the extent to which there are similarities between the formal and informal structures.

Some critics of the procedures used in this study might argue that, at bottom, we are really studying stratification phenomena, not the effects of group participation. They might not declare themselves satisfied with any demonstration of relationships between social participation and attitudinal variables so long as statistical controls have not been introduced to eliminate the effects of social stratification. We do not share this view. We do not view the variables of stratification and of participation as different variables: rather, we think that they represent the macroscopic and microscopic aspects of the same phenomena. Social strata have their effects on individuals through the agency of the groups, formal and informal, in which the individual participates. They cannot have any effects of their own, because they are not directly experienced by the individual members of the social system. Social strata are essentially abstractions in the mind of the investigator -- extremely helpful instruments of thought in any investigation which attempts to link specified types of attitudes or behavior to the conditions of social existence. But a study which deals with the development of social and political orientations must look at the microscopic -- and that is to say the experiential -- aspects of the individual's life. We are less interested, in this study, in finding out what types of social orientations are linked to what characteristics of membership in the class or prestige system than in discovering the ways in which orientations -- any orientations -- are generated in the individual's contacts with others.

If, in the next few pages, we demonstrate relationships between group participation and social status, we are really talking about the manner in which the adolescent's social origins affect his placement in the structures of social life into which he is moving. For the status of a young person is a transitional one: it is affected by both the social characteristics of his family and the role he plays in the secondary structures of school and friendship. Both of these sources of status can be seen as patterns of association and participation. The young person from a "good" family has high status because he associates with other youngsters from "good" families and with the adults whom he knows in the social environment into which he has been born. Clearly, to control for social status would be to say that groups have an effect on the emergence of social attitudes quite apart from the social context in which they are imbedded. We are not saying this. We are, rather, investigating the social mechanisms whereby placement in social strata as well as orientations toward the social world are generated.

I. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

As could be expected, the structures of formal and informal participation overlap. The correlations shown in Table 6.1 are not very high, but they are based on a somewhat stringent and perhaps unrealistic definition of participation, i.e. the number of formal and informal groups in which each respondent is a member. If we distinguish only between participants and non-participants, we find that of the 1692 respondents for whom we have data, only 197 participate in no organization or informal clique. Among those who do participate, nearly 61 per cent are members of both formal and informal groups.

If we count as formal organizations only those which are located in the school (a reasonable restriction since we do not consider cliques outside the school system) we find 315 non-participants, nearly eighteen per cent of all students in the two communities. Of those who do participate, only 49 per cent are members of both the formal and the informal structure. This means that about eighteen per cent of all students have no citizenship in the school community, and slightly over fifty per cent have only partial citizenship. They may, of course, be citizens elsewhere. There are remarkable differences between the two communities in this respect, which will be discussed in the last part of this chapter.

TABLE 6.1
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN FORMAL AND INFORMAL PARTICIPATION,
COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED

Number of informal memberships	Number of organizations and activities in which student participates or holds office			
	Organizations in which student participates	School activities in which student participates	Organizations in which student holds office	School activities in which student holds office
Clique memberships	.20	.21	.10	.11
Acolyte attachments	.19	.19	.12	.13
Total clique attachments	.25	.24	.14	.15

Whether a greater amount of participation in the school community is desirable or not is a matter of social and educational philosophy. Also, it is not altogether clear what effects the involvement of nearly all students in the life of the school would have on both their development and that of the community at large. But the figures will remind us to look with great caution upon any assertions which claim general effects of the social experience of high school life upon all students. By the same token, we must emphasize once more that much of what is described in this report leaves out of consideration the experience of the less affluent, the less intelligent and the withdrawn, since the methods used in this study focus attention only on actual participants.

The manner in which participation is linked to social status can be gathered from Table 6.2. We have used the father's educational attainment as the best indicator of social origin available to us, since the students' responses to the questions dealing with their parents' occupations are often too sketchy to permit reliable classification. Grade average is here considered a sort of school status -- again a somewhat limited and unreliable measure -- for the reasons given in Chapter 2. The correlations shown in the table are thus bound to underestimate the amounts of relationship that would be found between measures of participation and more refined measures of status.

TABLE 6.2
FORMS OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION BY FATHER'S EDUCATION AND
GRADE AVERAGE, CORRELATIONS FOR COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED

	Number of organ- izations in which student partici- pates	Number of school activities in which student partici- pates	Number of organ- izations in which student holds office	Number of school activities in which student holds office	Number of cliques of which student is a member	Number of cliques of which student is an acolyte	Number of cliques of which student is a member or acolyte
Grade average	.38	.38	.24	.23	.09	.14	.16
Father's education	.25	.25	.13	.13	.07	.13	.12

The most important finding in this table is, however, the difference in the levels of association found between social indices on the one side and the two types of participation on the other. Informal group participation is, apparently, more "democratic," at least in the sense that amount of participation (as measured by the number of groups to which an individual belongs) is less definitely tied to social status. A more detailed view of the relationship between social origin and participation can be obtained from Table 6.3. The average number of organizations to which students belong increases rather markedly with the father's level of educational attainment; the increase is not nearly so pronounced in the case of clique members and acolytes, and it is about the same for these two groups.

Participation may also be related to the student's status aspirations. As a measure of these, we have used his general plans for the future rather than his occupational plans, since the latter are often still quite vague in the young people's minds, particularly among tenth-graders. Table 6.4 shows that social participation relates to the student's further educational aspirations, with those who plan to go to college showing, on the average, the greatest amount of participation. Again, the increase in participation is much more pronounced for formal participation than it is for the informal.

TABLE 6.3
 PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZATIONS AND CLIQUES BY LEVEL OF FATHER'S
 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
 AVERAGES FOR COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED

	Elementary school	Some high school but didn't graduate	Some high school and trade or business school	High school graduate	High school graduate and some trade or business school	Some college education	College graduate	Post graduate college training	Correlation coefficient
Average number of cliques in which respon- dents are members	0.44	0.46	0.30	0.52	0.54	0.49	0.59	0.64	.07
Average number of cliques in which respon- dents are members or acolytes	1.44	1.51	1.39	1.87	1.69	1.93	2.03	2.07	.12
Average number of organizations to which respon- dents belong	1.44	1.43	1.91	1.73	2.35	2.27	2.49	2.93	.25
Average number of school activities to which respon- dents belong	0.74	0.73	1.13	0.94	1.22	1.30	1.46	1.89	.25

TABLE 6.4
AVERAGE NUMBER OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL MEMBERSHIPS BY PLANS
FOR THE FUTURE. COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED

After high school student plans to:	Average number of:			
	Organizational memberships	School activities	Clique memberships	Clique acolyte attachments
Become a homemaker	.82	.44	.35	1.28
Take a job	.86	.46	.36	1.32
Take a job after military service	1.14	.50	.33	1.49
Get married and get a job	1.18	.59	.49	1.78
Go into service as a career	1.20	.45	.35	1.37
Go to trade or business school	1.63	.88	.59	1.64
Get married and go to college	2.09	1.03	.47	1.94
Go to college	2.60	1.50	.58	2.04

It would seem, then, that formal participation is more strongly tied to both social origins and aspirations than is clique participation. This is not to say, of course, that clique participation exposes students to a wider range of social experiences than does formal participation. Quite the opposite may be -- and probably is -- the case. We are here examining aggregates of organization and clique members, not the individual organizations and cliques. All that is indicated by these data is that a broader social layer of students participates in cliques than in formal activities. If the cliques are rather homogeneous on social and other variables -- and we will show this to be the case -- this means that cliques represent a broader spectrum of social structures differing from one another in certain respects, while formal organizations tend to be more uniform in their composition.

So far we have only used the number of cliques to which the individual belongs as a measure of involvement in the informal structure. This was, admittedly a very crude measure, although it did have the advantage of linearity. But a qualitative measure may give a more realistic picture of the nature of informal participation and at the same time give us some indication of the validity of the types of clique membership which we have established by means of the procedures described in Chapter 4.

The frequencies in the table indicate, first of all, that multiple participation consists mostly in students' being weakly attached to several groups, or strongly to one and weakly to one or more others. But in spite of the weakness of these attachments, this qualitative scale correlates with grade average and father's education to about the same extent as the quantitative measure in Table 6.2. No great "jumps" in averages are recognizable, except perhaps between single and multiple membership. Of particular interest, however, is the break that occurs between those who are acolytes in two or more cliques and those who are members in two or more. Those with multiple acolyte attachment and no membership are actually the highest status group, as measured by their fathers' educational attainment. The thirty-six students who belong to several cliques but are not acolytes anywhere have a somewhat lower social background than that of multiple acolytes; on the other hand, they have the highest mean grade average.

This group of thirty-six people seems particularly interesting, because it puts a kink into practically any regression line. On social as well as attitudinal measures, this group is always different from its next door neighbors, the multiple acolytes and multiple member-acolytes. Indeed, they are more similar to single-clique members than to any other group.

The peculiarities of this small group show up in a large proportion of the tables in which Type of Clique Attachment is used as the independent variable. In tables which show no other significant relationships, our thirty "pure" clique members (i.e. clique multiple members who are not acolytes anywhere) show up with either the highest or the lowest mean in the whole array. In view of the smallness

TABLE 6.5
TYPE OF CLIQUE ATTACHMENT BY FATHER'S EDUCATION AND
BY GRADE AVERAGE. MEANS FOR COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED

	N	Mean Grade Average	Mean Education* of Father
No clique attachment	532	2.21	3.59
Acolyte in one clique only	282	2.36	3.63
Member in one clique only	156	2.39	3.52
Member in one clique and acolyte in one or more	232	2.48	4.07
Acolyte in two or more cliques	336	2.50	4.28
Member in two or more cliques	36	2.59	3.88
Member in two or more cliques and acolyte in one or more	121	2.50	4.12
Total	1695	$r = .12$	$r = .17$

*These averages are based on the scores which we have assigned to levels of educational attainment. They consequently are a very rough measure of social status.

of the group, the differences between the mean for the "pures" and for the rest of the sample is usually not significant, but the phenomenon recurs with such regularity that it is worth mentioning. On all Conflict Role Indices, for example, the average number of "Both" responses selected by the "pure" clique-members is lower than that selected by any other group; conversely, they tend to be high in the "Neither" category. Particularly revealing are the value preferences of this group: they consistently receive the highest means score in the categories of "Respect" and "Self-Assertion," but the lowest on "Interesting life" and on "Friends." They discuss politics with friends more frequently than anyone else, they obtain the lowest scores on vindictiveness against Communists and the highest on vindictiveness against "those who do not believe in the sanctity of marriage."

The picture that emerges from this constellation of scores is that of a group of people who pursue the value of respect relentlessly, getting deeply -- never marginally -- involved in the cliques they join, even though they are not particularly interested in friendship as such. They talk about politics (they probably do a lot of talking about many subjects) but they shun conflict, preferring to say that no one bears any responsibility for it. They are against sin. Clearly, they try to make an impression, and they get accepted by virtue of their intelligence and persistence, even though they do not "qualify" by their backgrounds.

Perhaps this is one of the response patterns one might expect from people undergoing a pluralistic experience. But this is not at all certain. We do not know whether the cliques joined by the thirty-six pures diverge appreciably from one another in social conditions and attitudes. Indeed, the opposite may well be the case, and the two or more cliques to which each of the thirty-six belongs may, in fact, be very similar to one another.

This digression about the thirty-six pures teaches us only one thing: that it is not at all certain that the qualitative classification of cliques represents degrees of pluralism. It probably describes nothing more than intensity of involvement in the informal structure of the school. The responses of the upper groups (for what holds for the "pures" is, to a lesser extent, true also for the multiple-member-acolytes) merely indicates that the relationship between intensity of involvement and social orientations is probably not linear. Nor is involvement linear with social origins. Nor is it with social origins. In the following table we show the percentages of individuals with various types of clique attachment who plan to go to college.

TABLE 6.6
TYPE OF CLIQUE ATTACHMENT BY INTENTION TO GO TO COLLEGE
COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED, IN PER CENT

Per cent planning to go to college	No attach- ment		Member- Acolyte		Multiple Acolyte		Multiple Member- Acolyte	
	52	42	43	54	62	65	56	

Thus, the highest participators in the clique structure have somewhat lower aspirations than those less involved, except that the "pures" once more exhibit their social ambition by containing the largest proportion of college-bound students.

Our study of the social correlates of participation has given us some incidental indications of the social meaning of the distinction between membership and acolyte status, which thus far had been a purely formal one. In their social origins and responses to attitudinal questions acolytes are clearly different from both non-members and members. Thus, it makes sense to set them up as a special category. It might be useful to think of them not so much as participants in particular cliques but rather as members of the social strata in the school to which clique members typically belong. They seem to display the social and attitudinal characteristics of these strata more strongly than do the clique members. We will return to this point in the next section.

II. CLIQUE STRUCTURES

The high schools of communities A and D offer altogether different pictures of group life. We have had occasion repeatedly to comment upon the much more cohesive, much more consensual character of community life in A. Table 6.7 describes some of the salient differences in the two clique structures.

TABLE 6.7
CLIQUE STRUCTURE CHARACTERISTICS
COMMUNITIES A AND D

	Community A	Community D
Number of membership cliques	32	49
Number of star cliques	4	26
Number of followings	10	97
Average number of:		
Members in membership cliques	14.0	4.9
Members in star cliques	6.0	6.3
Acolytes in followings	5.9	5.6
Average number of acolytes per clique member in:		
Membership cliques	1.8	2.2
Star cliques	2.2	2.2

The great density of the network of cliques in school A becomes quite evident in these figures. Here membership cliques are much larger than in D, though the average is affected by a few very large cliques. If it were not for overlap between membership cliques, almost every student in A would be a member in some clique. Add to this star cliques and followings, and a great portion of the social space in A is filled with parts of the informal structure. In D, on the other hand, cliques are much smaller and exist in relative isolation from one another, as islands in a social sea. It was the realization that membership cliques by themselves did not add up to any kind of social structure in D that impelled us to define the other two types of cliques, star cliques and followings. It must be recognized, however, that membership cliques have a slightly greater social impact in D, since the average number of acolytes is somewhat higher than in A.

In community A, the range of sizes of membership cliques is much wider than in D; moreover, the tendency for cliques to cluster at the lower end of the distribution is not nearly as pronounced in A as it is in D. On the other hand, the range of star cliques is somewhat wider in D, although most of them are small. In both communities, the cliques of medium size tend to have the largest number of acolytes per member, a fact that points to the relative isolation of the smaller cliques and the self-sufficiency of the larger ones (see Table 6.8).

In A, cliques perform a further integrative function, that of bringing the students of differing sexes together. Slightly more than half of the membership cliques in A are mixed, although in most of them one of the sexes clearly predominates, as can be seen in Table 6.9. In D, less than one-fifth of the membership cliques consist of students of both sexes. Acolytes, however, tend to be a much more mixed lot. It is fairly evident, indeed, that many of the acolytes are the boy- or girl-friends of clique members (or perhaps their unrequited admirers). This pattern reflects perhaps the current fashion of "going steady" and keeping one's girl or boy away from the crowd in order to protect the permanence of the relationship.

TABLE 6.8
FREQUENCY OF CLIQUES OF VARYING SIZES AND AVERAGE NUMBER
OF ACOLYTES PER MEMBER, FOR CLIQUES OF VARYING SIZES
COMMUNITIES A AND D

	3	4	5	6	7	8	9-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	Total
Membership Cliques												
Community A												
Number of cliques	9	5	2	1	1	3	0	7	2	1	1	32
Per cent of all membership cliques	28	16	6	3	3	9	0	22	6	3	3	99
Average number of acolytes per member	1.6	2.6	1.8	3.3	1.8	2.5	0	1.6	1.2	.70	.76	
Community D												
Number of cliques	19	6	10	2	4	4	2	2				49
Per cent of all membership cliques	39	12	20	4	8	8	4	4				99
Average number of acolytes per member	2.3	2.5	1.7	3.8	1.9	2.0	3.0	1.4				
Community A												
Number of cliques			1	2	1							4
Per cent of all star cliques			25	50	25							100
Average number of acolytes per member			1.6	2.4	2.7							
Community D												
Number of cliques			5	10	5	3	1	2				26
Per cent of all star cliques			20	38	19	12	4	8				101
Average number of acolytes per member			3.2	2.0	2.3	3.0	2.1	1.6				

TABLE 6.9
SEX COMPOSITION OF VARIOUS TYPES OF CLIQUES,
COMMUNITIES A AND D, IN PER CENT

	Community A						Community D					
	Membership			Star Cliques			Membership			Star Cliques		
	Members	and Acolytes	Stars and Fol- lowing	Members	and Acolytes	Stars and Fol- lowing	Members	and Acolytes	Stars and Fol- lowing	Members	and Acolytes	Stars and Fol- lowing
All male	19	9	10	(50)		10	35	10	27	4	13	
61-99% male	22	28	60	(25)	(75)	60	2	24	12	27	32	
41-60% male	6	22					4	12	4	27	9	
1-40% male	32	6		(25)			47	8	11	8	9	
N	32	32	10	4	4	10	49	49	26	26	97	

Community D -- 50 out of 97 followings have female stars -- only 22 out of 97 followings are of one sex. In all such cases, the sex of the followers agrees with that of the star.

Community A -- 3 out of 10 followings have female stars.

Thus, membership cliques seem to perform a function of community integration in A, where they permeate the social space and draw people together. To a minor extent, this function is perhaps performed by the followings in D, if only because of the number of them. Moreover, as Table 6.10 shows, the leaders of these followings come from a variety of groups with rather diverse levels of academic performance. The followings in D constitute almost the only instances in which students with averages below C seem to play a prominent part in the informal social structure. It will be noted, however, that none of the followers have below-C averages, and that the bulk of them is in the C-range.

In both communities, it seems generally the case that the acolytes have a somewhat narrower range of academic performance than do members. A greater proportion of them are in the B or B-to-C range than of the clique members themselves. Thus, they represent more clearly than do the clique members themselves the socially active stratum in the high school.

All types of cliques and all types of clique participants have in common a satisfactory or better than satisfactory performance in school. From an educational point of view, this is an important and perhaps serious finding. It indicates that students whose performance is less than satisfactory either have no social contacts in school or find them outside the school. The poorer students, then, who might profit most from being integrated into the life of the school community and from contacts with better students are typically isolated in school.

That this isolation is not necessarily based on social origin can be seen in Table 6.11. We already noticed earlier in this chapter that the relationship between clique membership and father's educational attainment was weaker than that between organizational membership and this measure of social origin. The data in the table show, indeed, a remarkable similarity between the distributions on father's education for all students in school and for clique members. If, in general, the social level of clique members is slightly higher than that of the common run of students (as we have shown earlier in this chapter), this is due, in A, to the somewhat higher level of the star cliques, and in D, to the higher social level of the followings. Star-

TABLE 6.10
DISTRIBUTION OF MEANS OF GRADE POINT AVERAGES FOR CLIQUES
BY MEMBERS AND ACOLYTES, AND BY TYPES OF CLIQUES
COMMUNITIES A AND D

COMMUNITY	Mean grade point averages	Membership cliques				Star cliques				Followings			
		Members		Acolytes		Members		Acolytes		Members		Acolytes	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
COMMUNITY A	A-B	2	6.2	2	6.2	(2)	(50)	(1)	(25)	(1)	(10)	(1)	(10)
	B	12	37.5	7	21.9	(1)	(25)	(3)	(75)	(3)	(30)	(2)	(20)
	B-C	12	37.5	17	53.2	(1)	(25)			(5)	(50)	(4)	(40)
	C	6	18.8	6	18.7					(1)	(10)	(3)	(30)
	TOTAL	32	100.0	32	100.0	4	100	4		10	100	10	100
COMMUNITY D	A									1	1.1		
	A-B	8	16.3			1	3.8			18	19.2	9	9.3
	B	11	22.4	18	37.5	8	30.8	14	53.8	14	14.9	35	36.1
	B-C	20	41.0	22	45.8	11	42.4	11	42.4	28	29.8	28	28.8
	C	9	18.4	6	12.5	6	23.1	1	3.8	20	21.3	25	25.8
	C-D	1	2.0	2	4.2					9	9.6		
	D									2	2.1		
	D-F									2	2.1		
TOTAL		49	100.1	48*	100.1	26	100.1	26	100.0	94**	100.1	97	100.0

*One clique had no acolytes

**Grade averages were unavailable in three instances

The sum of these percentages is slightly over 100 in each category of cliques (participation), not the number of cliques. Percentages do not always add to 100 because in some cases the information was not available.

TABLE 6.11
 CLIQUE TYPES BY RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF FATHER'S LEVEL OF
 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, COMMUNITIES A AND D
 MEMBERS AND ACOLYTES, IN PER CENT*

	Community A			Community D		
	Per cent of fathers with:			Per cent of fathers with:		
	Less than high school diploma	High school diploma	College education	Less than high school diploma	High school diploma	College education
<u>MEMBERS</u>						
Membership cliques	43	33	24	34	38	28
Star cliques	29	17	54	32	43	26
Followings	(30)	(30)	(40)	37	29	33
All students	43	31	24	41	34	25
<u>ACOLYTES</u>						
Membership cliques	41	34	26	35	35	30
Star cliques	24	37	39	33	39	28
Followings	32	34	34	41	34	25
All students	43	31	24	41	34	25

*The base of these percentages is the total number of fathers in each category of clique participants, not the number of cliques. Percentages do not always add to 100 because in some cases the information was not available.

centered cliques, then, appear to be made up almost exclusively of students predestined by social origin and academic performance (these two things are, of course, by no means independent) to be participants, whereas the membership clique structure takes in at least a small group of students who are not so predestined.

PART II

EMPIRICAL EXPLORATIONS

CHAPTER V

CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

I. COMMUNITY PATTERNS AND SOCIAL EXPERIENCES

Communities A and D would both be classified as middle-sized towns according to their populations; they both belong to the same culture area, that of lower Michigan. Yet, they offer rather different types of life experiences to their citizens, both adult and young.

PART II

It is only partially the difference in size that accounts for the divergences which we are about to describe. Community D is almost as large as A, with a population of about 80,000 in the last census. Yet more decisive are the differences in occupational structure and in the intensity of communications with the national community and the world at large.

EMPIRICAL EXPLORATIONS

Our respondents report the occupations of the male breadwinners in their families as shown in table 7.1:

TABLE 7.1
FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS, COMMUNITIES A AND D, IN PER CENT

Community	Professionals	Managers and Proprietors	Clerical	Sales	Craftsmen and Foremen	Unskilled Service	Farm	Not Ascertained
A	12.7	8.4	6.9	2.8	11.7	51.1	5.3	9.3
B	8.8	4.3	14.9	2.2	4.6	68.3	.1	.1

D is the seat of nationally known processing industries, whereas A is chiefly commercial, with a few small industrial plants. This makes not only for a larger working class population in D, but also for a more cosmopolitan climate. A preserves the feeling of a small community in which people know each other personally and act in terms of these personal relations. D has acquired the impersonality of a city.

These attitudes also pervade the area of race relations. A actually has a larger Negro community (about 22% of the population) than does D (about 14%), but

CHAPTER 7

CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

I. COMMUNITY PATTERNS AND SOCIAL EXPERIENCES

Communities A and D would both be classified as middle-sized towns according to their populations; they both belong to the same culture area, that of lower Michigan. Yet, they offer rather different types of life experiences to their citizens, both adult and young.

It is only partially the difference in size that accounts for the divergencies which we are about to describe; D is nearly five times as large as A, with a population of about 80,000 in the last census. But more decisive are the differences in occupational structure and in the intensity of communications with the national community and the world at large.

Our respondents report the occupations of the main breadwinners in their families as shown in table 7.1:

TABLE 7.1
FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS, COMMUNITIES A AND D, IN PER CENT

Community	Professionals	Managers and Proprietors	Clerical	Sales	Craftsmen and Foremen	Unskilled, Farm Service	Farm	Not Ascertained
A	12.7	8.4	4.6	2.8	11.7	51.1	5.3	3.3
B	5.5	4.3	14.9	2.2	4.6	68.3	.1	.1

D is the seat of nationally known processing industries, whereas A is chiefly commercial, with a few small industrial plants. This makes not only for a larger working class population in D, but also for a more cosmopolitan climate. A preserves the feeling of a small community in which people know each other personally and act in terms of these personal relations. D has acquired the impersonality of a city.

These attitudes also pervade the area of race relations. A actually has a larger Negro community (about 22% of the population) than does D (about 14%), but

A's Negro population is more settled, having been a part of the community much longer than most of the Negroes in D. In ante bellum days, A was one of the end points of the underground railway, and some of the religious groups in town were actively engaged in settling fugitive slaves.

The effects of size, occupational composition and historical tradition interact in such a way as to give the children of the two communities altogether different introductions to social life. The Gesellschaft-Gemeinschaft dichotomy well describes the differences. A has only a single high school and a single junior high school, and both are in the same building. This strengthens the role of the school as a small community. Children in D experience two important breaks in their social environment -- when they move from elementary to junior high schools and again when they transfer from junior high to high school. This may dissolve some of the informal friendship groups while creating new ones; and insofar as old friendship groups persist, their existence makes the life of the child in D less school-centered. In A, the continuity of contacts with the entire age cohort of the city for a period of six years creates opportunities for the maintenance of strong friendship groups over a long period of time and locates much of social activity in the school and in the fringe area surrounding the school as an institution. This tends to create a more strongly local point-of-view among the young people of A -- a point of view which, possibly, is reinforced by the middle-class values prevailing among the town's people.

The extent to which the two schools serve as foci for the social life of their students can be gathered from Table 7.2 which shows the percentages of students involved in various types of activities. In most categories of school activities, there is much greater participation in A than there is in D. The main exception occurs in the category of "school-community activities," which draws a higher proportion of participants in D than it does in A. The reason for this is not altogether clear, for all other types of activities in which D is stronger than A are those which focus attention on things outside the school, such as the student's future occupation, entertainment and the like.

TABLE 7.2
PARTICIPATION IN CLUBS AND ACTIVITIES OF VARIOUS TYPES,
COMMUNITIES A AND D, IN PER CENT OF ALL STUDENTS

		Number of Activities				Total
		1	2	3	4 or more	
School Activities:						
Occupation oriented clubs	A	4.1	.2			4.3
(Future Teachers, Future nurses, etc.)	D	5.8	.1			5.9
Academic Clubs	A	18.2	5.5	1.4		25.1
(Latin Club, Biology Club, etc.)	D	6.0	1.3	.1		7.4
Artistic and similar activities	A	19.9	3.1	.2		23.4
(Band, Drama, Orchestra, etc.)	D	7.8	2.3	.5	.3	10.9
Entertainment Clubs	A	1.0	.4			1.4
(Movie club, etc.)	D	4.1	.2			4.3
Varsity Activities	A	8.6	2.0	1.0	.4	12.0
(Sports Teams, Cheerleaders, etc.)	D	6.9	3.0	1.0	.1	11.0
Intra-mural sports	A	16.4				16.4
	D	7.1	.7			7.8
School Community activities	A	10.5	2.3	.4		13.2
(Student Government, news-paper, yearbook, etc.)	D	15.6	3.9	1.2	.3	21.0
Community oriented activities	A	7.2	.8			8.0
(Service clubs, Red Cross, etc.)	D	2.6	.1			2.7
Activities Outside School:						
Occupation oriented activities	A	1.0				1.0
(Salesmen's Club, Pilot's Association, etc., or job)	D	2.4			.1	2.5
Participatory creative activities	A	8.4				8.4
(Symphony, square dancing, etc.)	D	5.6	.4	.1		6.1
Social activities	A	20.3	.2			20.5
(Dances, shows, social clubs)	D	3.1	.5	.2		3.8
Athletic clubs	A	5.5	1.0			6.5
(Tennis, ski, etc.)	D	6.7	1.2	.4	.1	8.4
Unorganized athletic activities	A	2.7	.6	.4	.2	3.9
(Skating, bowling, etc.)	D	5.7	.6	.2	.1	6.6
Urban community clubs	A	8.6	1.4			10.0
(Teen Chambers of Commerce, Demolay, etc.)	D	10.3	1.6	.2		12.1
Rural community clubs	A	5.3	.8			6.1
(F.F.A., 4-H, etc.)	D	1.2	.2	.2		1.6
Religious activities	A	29.3	4.3	.6		34.2
	D	19.6	3.9	.6	.2	24.3

The pattern of participation in activities outside the school shows similar characteristics. A youngsters engage in a great many organized social and church-related activities, while the participation of D youngsters in formal activities remains generally on a fairly low level and rarely exceeds that of A. Yet we do not have sufficient justification for arguing that young people in A have a highly school-centered social life, whereas those in D substitute activities in the larger community for those in school. Rather, the main point to be made is that A youngsters generally engage in more organized (and perhaps more closely supervised) social activities, whereas informality is more frequently the rule in D. The institutions of church, school and neighborhood are more strongly articulated with one another in the smaller community, so that socialization takes place in a more coherent school-community framework than it does in A. If we look at the content of the activities favored by students in A and D, we notice that A students gravitate toward personal interaction, while D students engage in less personal activities; the emphasis on student government and similar activities may be part of this pattern in D. A summary of the amount of types of organized activities among young people in the two communities appears in Table 7.2:

TABLE 7.3
ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION OF ADOLESCENTS
IN COMMUNITIES A AND D, IN PER CENT

Community	Type of Activity			
	None	Community Oriented	School	Religious
A	24.2	33.8	28.1	13.9
D	39.1	33.0	19.5	8.4

Similar differences are reflected in the quantitative data on clique participation reported in Table 7.4. When asked to list young people with whom they associate, students in Community D put down 13.3 names on the average, while those in A mention only 11.9 names. At the same time, the proportion of students who think of themselves as having a large number of friends is considerably greater

TABLE 7.4
SELECTED INDICES OF PERSONAL INTERACTION OF STUDENTS
IN COMMUNITIES A AND D*

	A	D
Average number of associates	11.9	13.3
Percent designating more than eighteen people as personal friends	14.7	34.9
Average of proportion of friends to total number of associates	43.5	45.3
Average of proportion of out-of-school friends to total number of friends	15.2	27.3
Average number of informal groups in which respondent indicates membership	2.6	2.4

*N ranges from 285-488 for Community A and 667-1209 for Community D because of the number of respondents who indicated membership in only one group.

in D than it is in A; over one third of the students in D designate more than 18 of their acquaintances as friends, as against only about 15 percent of the students in A. The number of friends who do not go to the respondent's school is much larger in D than it is in A; since there is only one high school in A, all friends outside the school must be either high school graduates or drop-outs, while in D, friends outside the school may be attending another high school. At the same time, this indicates that the term "friend," for many students in A, implies greater intimacy than in D. Nevertheless, students in both communities report belonging to approximately the same number of informal friendship groups. This means that the students of A high school regard their student body as more group-structured than do students in D.

Table 7.5 shows that this perception is justified by the facts. There is much more clique participation in A than there is in D, and the character of participation is much more intensive. The totals show that 403 of the 488 students in A participate in some clique -- 82.6 percent; in D, only 781 of the 1210 students --

TABLE 7.5
DISTRIBUTION OF CLIQUE-CROWD MEMBERSHIP IN COMMUNITIES A AND D,
PARTICIPANTS IN CLIQUES ONLY, IN PER CENT

	Acolyte in <u>one</u> clique only	Member in <u>one</u> clique only	Acolyte in two or more cliques	Member in one clique, acolyte in two or more	Member in two or more cliques	Member in two or more cliques, acolyte in one or more	Total
Community A							
Clique	18.6	17.6	17.9	33.7	4.7	7.4	
Crowd	24.5	33.5	11.9	25.8	1.5	2.7	403
Community D							
Clique	27.3	11.1	21.2	26.5	2.04	11.8	
Crowd	32.1	21.5	16.6	22.9	1.5	5.2	781

64 per cent -- participate in informal friendship groups. If we look only at those students who do participate in the clique structure, we observe more participation in membership cliques in D than there is in A -- 63 per cent vs. 51.4 per cent of the participants. This was, of course, to be expected in view of the greater frequency of membership cliques in A and of following in D. Yet, the highest category of clique-participation -- that containing students who are members in at least two cliques and acolytes in at least one -- is relatively more frequent in D than in A. At the same time, the lowest category -- acolyte in only one clique -- also occurs more frequently in A. Evidently, the student body of A is much more homogeneous than that of D with respect to clique participation. There is much more variability in D. In the smaller of the two communities, there is a modal amount of participation which might be considered the norm for most youngsters. No such norm exists in D. Many young people do not participate at all in the informal friendship cliques of the school, many of those who participate belong to only one clique as acolytes, and at the same time, there is a relatively greater number of multiple participants. D thus seems to be much more stratified than A, not only in socio-economic terms but also by social participation.

We can now begin to answer the question which of the two school communities affords the student a greater amount of pluralistic experience. The answer is not simple. Because of the greater separateness of strata in D, there is a great number of students who are relatively isolated or confined to a fairly narrow range of associates. On the other hand, in the same community, there is a small group of high participators who may be exposed to a greater variety of social experiences than are students in A. Whether they actually receive pluralistic experiences depends largely on the divergences in social composition, in interests and in values. Clearly, since community A is on the whole more homogeneous in all of these respects, the chance for pluralistic experiences is smaller there than it is in A -- even those who are members of several cliques may find themselves in substantially the same kind of social environment in each one of them.

In order to throw some light on this question, we have computed a set of "discrepancy scores" for people who belong to more than one clique. Some of these scores are based on the distributions of social characteristics within cliques, others on the students' own reports about the groups in which they claim to be members. A respondent receives a high score if, on a given characteristic, there is a great discrepancy between the groups to which he belongs. All discrepancy scores are computed by the same method (which is described in Appendix A) and range from 0 to 9.

Tables 7.6 and 7.7 shown means of such discrepancy scores, the first for members only, and the second for members and acolytes. In both tables, the differences between discrepancy scores have the same direction, but they are generally bigger in the table containing means for members only.

The largest differences between mean discrepancy scores occurs on father's education. Students who belong to several cliques in community D are likely to encounter children from a wider range of socio-economic backgrounds than is the case in community A. The comparison of the discrepancy scores between mean grade averages yields a similar picture -- and since grades in high school are, in part, considered status attributes, the significance of this is probably similar to the discrepancy on father's education. On grade and sex com-

TABLE 7.6
AVERAGE DISCREPANCY SCORES FOR STUDENTS HAVING MEMBERSHIP
IN MORE THAN ONE CLIQUE

	A	D
Father's education	3.6	5.5
Grade average	4.4	5.1
Social mobility	5.7	5.6
Sex composition	6.0	5.8
Grade composition	3.4	3.1
Race composition	3.1	3.8
Interest in studies	6.1	5.7
Predominant interests	5.0	5.9
Norm compliance, total	6.4	5.2
Norm compliance, public	5.8	5.5
Norm compliance, private	5.5	5.6

TABLE 7.7
AVERAGE DISCREPANCY SCORES FOR STUDENTS HAVING MEMBERSHIP
AND/OR ACOLYTE STATUS IN MORE THAN ONE CLIQUE
IN COMMUNITIES A AND D

	A	D
Interest in studies	5.07	5.29
Norm compliance, public	4.88	5.40
Norm compliance, private	4.79	5.66
Norm compliance, total	5.87	5.03
Predominant interests	4.08	4.49
Sex composition	5.62	5.05
Race composition	2.35	2.87
Grade average	4.57	4.68
Social mobility	5.39	5.34
Father's education	3.96	5.23

position of the cliques to which they belong, students in A receive slightly higher discrepancy scores than in D. A discrepancy in average grade level exists, if a young person belongs to one clique consisting only of members of his own school grade, and also to another one whose members were recruited from a different or from several school grades. Sex compositions of a student's cliques would be scored as being "discrepant" if there was a sufficiently large variation in the per-

centages of male or female members. In both of these respects, students in the A school experience more variety. They are thus exposed to different social situations, which tend, however, to occur in the same context of social class and social class values.

Discrepancies in the racial composition of cliques are somewhat lower in A than in D.

The remaining five discrepancy scores are based on attitude items in the questionnaire and reflect perceptions rather than objective reality. More students in A than in B believe that they belong to groups which differ somewhat in their degrees of interest in studies or whose readiness to comply with accepted norms of behavior varies noticeably. This does not mean that these groups actually are more different in these respects in A than they are in D; the A students may well be more sensitive to such differences as exist. Indeed, if norm compliance is associated with social status, as is frequently the case, the D students' range of experiences of different attitudes toward norms should actually be greater than that of students in A.

The question regarding the opportunities for pluralistic experience confronts us with an all too familiar dilemma: we have no objective yardstick for measuring experience. Those who believe that they observe and are involved in a variety of dissimilar social situations may, in the judgment of some outside observer, be moving in a fairly homogeneous milieu. One thing is evident: the structures of the community, the school, and the informal network of friendships in A favor consensus; and it is against a background of expectations that behavior will in general be consensually approved, that A students detect more discrepancies than do D students whose environment is probably more tolerant of dissensus.

II. LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL ORIENTATIONS

We have argued, thus far, that the structure of the community has an effect upon the informal structure of the high school, and that both of them together may account for the young person's expectations regarding the nature of social processes. The adolescent may expect more or less consensus in the social environment. It now remains to show what effects these expectations have upon orientations toward political processes.

In describing the differences in orientations we have observed in communities A and D, we will be hard put in assigning them to specific causes. The general community climate may, by itself, produce the effects we observe, or else the structure of the high school may play a mediating role between community climate and social orientations. It would take many more than two communities to discover such causal chains as may exist. Moreover, it is not at all clear by what social mechanisms orientations toward the political world are generated in individuals or transmitted from individual to individual. Possibly, some sort of leadership process is involved: different social structures may allow different types of individuals to accede to leadership positions; and the leaders may in turn "set the tone" and thus encourage attitudes which maintain the social system. For these reasons, the data to be presented in this section will consist of comparisons not only between the two high school populations but also between the formal leaders selected on the basis of their participation in student government. In addition, we will show data for "high participants" in D, since these may also have leadership functions in the formation of opinions.

When we examine the demographic, social and educational characteristics of these leaders, we discover some interesting differences between the two communities and between the leaders and the populations from which they are drawn (Table 7.8). Leaders in D tend to be older than those in A, probably because of the lack of a break between junior high school and high school in the latter city. In both communities, girls predominate in the leadership, and they constitute four fifths of the high participants in D. The bias in favor of females is even a little stronger among the A leaders than it is in D. Racially, the D leadership is entirely white, and the group of high participants comes close to this; whereas in A, Negroes enjoy a somewhat better representation among high school leaders. In both communities, the share of the children of professionals in the leadership is disproportionately high, but this bias is particularly strong in A. There are no differences in grade averages, but D leaders have a somewhat higher average I.Q.

TABLE 7.8
 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LEADERS,
 HIGH PARTICIPANTS, AND POPULATIONS
 OF COMMUNITIES A AND D, IN PER CENT

Characteristic	Community A		Community D		
	Leaders N=31	Population N=488	Leaders N=42	High Participants N=39	Population N=1209
Grade					
10th	29.0	42.4	9.5	25.6	38.8
11th	29.0	29.7	31.0	35.9	32.8
12th	41.9	27.9	59.5	38.5	28.4
Sex: Female	67.7	50.8	61.9	7.9	48.6
Race: White	83.9	78.1	100.0	94.9	88.6
Occupation of Father:					
Blue Collar	9.7	25.2	9.5	15.4	22.2
White Collar	41.9	36.9	57.1	61.5	48.6
Professionals	32.3	15.8	16.7	18.0	7.8
Grade Average*	2.9	2.4	3.0	2.9	2.4
I.Q.*	99.8	103.1	106.9	103.1	98.3

*The N's upon which these means and percentages are based are somewhat lower than those indicated at the head of each column, since the data were not available in a few cases.

From these data, we gain the impression that the A leadership is likely to display more of a middle class community spirit than does that of D. Being younger, the A leaders are more likely to think of social relations chiefly as behavior based on consensus. Moreover, women generally tend to play the role of consensus leaders in American society -- and girls have a higher share of the leadership in A than they have in D. The somewhat higher socio-economic status of the A leadership reinforces the impression that this group represents local middle-class society even more strongly than do the D leaders.

Yet, in some respects the leadership of A seems more representative of the school community from which it is drawn than does D's leadership. This is clearly the case for the age distribution, and it also holds for the representation of the races in the official school leadership. The A leadership may well be more

integrated into the school community than that of D. This becomes particularly evident in Table 7.9, the first columns of which indicate that all of A's leaders belong to informal cliques, while this is true for only four-fifths of D's leaders. Particularly striking are the data on the racial composition of the cliques to which the leaders belong. In A, about the same proportion of white leaders belongs only to racially homogeneous cliques as in the population; and that proportion is considerably lower than it is in D. In the latter community, leaders move in an environment that is somewhat less segregated along racial lines than is the population; but high participants are just as segregated as the school community at large, if not more so. The high school of A thus seems to be more integrated than that of D, both in the population and in the school leadership. It should be kept in mind that, to a large extent, this may be "token integration;" the overwhelming number of racially mixed cliques in A have a single Negro member, one who is "accepted" by the white children, and the great majority of Negroes are excluded from the informal clique structure. Still, even such "token integration" may reduce tensions in that it creates the impression that the problem does not exist or has been solved and that there is consequently no reason for controversy.

The consensus attitudes prevailing in community A manifest themselves in responses which we interpret as a general rejection of conflict. The most striking results will be found in Table 7.10, giving percentages of respondents scoring high on the "conflict Cause Index" (CCI). This index is based on the ranks which respondents were asked to assign to three of the ten dyadic items in five questions of our instrument. The actual ranks are not taken into account (and the responses of individuals who mistakenly checked rather than ranked three items were counted). A respondent is considered to have a high CCI score if all pairs of items he selects as "important" causes of conflict have received double checks previously, i.e. if both participants are considered active agents in the conflict.

The table shows that, on all five sets of dyadic items, a larger percentage of A than of D respondents receives high scores. Moreover, as the last two columns of the table show, the differences between the two leadership groups

TABLE 7.9
MEMBERSHIP IN CLIQUES OF VARYING RACIAL COMPOSITION
LEADERS, HIGH PARTICIPANTS, AND POPULATIONS OF
COMMUNITIES A AND D, IN PER CENT

Leaders and High partici- pants ¹	Racial Composition				
	Percent belonging to any clique	All groups 100% white	At least one group 80-99% white	At least one group 21-99% white or one group 100% white and one group 100% Negro	Total
				At least one group 80-99% Negro	All groups 100% Negro
Percent who are members in each kind of groups					
Community A	N=				
Leaders	31	41.9	45.1	*	6.5
Population	488	39.1	41.7	2.8	6.9
Community D					
Leaders	42	63.6	36.4	*	*
Population	1209	76.6	14.4	4.0	2.5
High Par- ticipants	39	89.7	14.2	2.9	2.9

* = less than 1 per cent

¹ Leaders include the officers of student government, student publications and similar official groups.
High participants are involved in various student activities.

TABLE 7.10
CONFLICT CAUSE INDEX.
PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS DESIGNATING AS MAIN CAUSES OF CONFLICT
ONLY ITEMS ON WHICH THEY CONSIDER BOTH PARTICIPANTS TO BE
ACTIVELY INVOLVED. COMPARISONS OF LEADERS AND POPULATIONS
IN A AND D

Conflict Situation		Community A		Community D		High Participants	Differences in Percentages Between	
		Leaders	Population	Leaders	Population		Formal Leaders	Population
Adults -	%	53.3	44.2	16.2	20.7	37.2	37.1**	23.5**
Young people	N	(30)	(433)	(37)	(958)	(35)		
US -	%	51.6	40.2	24.4	25.4	26.7	27.2*	14.8**
USSR	N ^x	(31)	(462)	(41)	(1040)	(38)		
Business	%	7.10	63.0	47.1	47.7	57.2	23.9*	15.3**
Labor	N ^x	(31)	(433)	(34)	(885)	(34)		
Whites -	%	40.0	45.9	16.2	27.8	29.4		
Negroes	N ^x	(30)	(401)	(37)	(958)	(34)	23.8*	18.1*
Democrats -	%	97.2	89.0	86.2	82.1	84.9		
Republicans	N ^x	(26)	(354)	(29)	(792)	(33)	11.0	6.9**

^xThe variation it totals upon which the percentages are based is due to non-response.

*Significant beyond the 5% level (t-test).

** Significant beyond the 1% level (t-test).

are consistently larger than those between the two populations. In our view, this indicates that the adolescent of community A typically rejects conflict as such and that this orientation is more common in A than it is in D. These findings do, of course, not indicate, that respondents with high CCI scores criticize both partners equally -- and the data to be reported presently shows that this is, in fact, not the case. In choosing item pairs which assign active conflict roles to both participants, adolescents merely record their perception of conflict as being due to the actions of those who get involved in it. If any criticism is implied in the statement of this perception, it relates neither to the merit of the case at issue nor even to the

character of the opponents involved, but rather to the perceived acuteness of the conflict; the more acute a conflict is felt to be, the greater the tendency to impute responsibility for it to one or the other, rather than to both opponents. Thus, among both populations and leaders, conflicts between old and young people, as well as those between the U. S. and the Soviet Union draw relatively low proportions of CCI scores; for different reasons, these three conflicts are surely salient in many young minds. The less salient, less acute conflicts receive the highest proportions of CCI scores; it is as though the respondents tended to ascribe such conflicts to the actions of both opponents rather than to the activities of one of them. Acute conflicts become personalized: some one participant must be doing something that accounts for its existence; while less acute conflicts are ascribed to the joint action of the participants.

The idea that both partners are the cause of conflict amounts to a kind of non-acceptance of conflict processes as such, to a feeling that conflict is somehow disruptive and that anyone getting involved in such situations must bear part of the burden of responsibility. This is the perception that dominates conflict orientations in community A. And to the extent that they influence opinion (or are typical of those who do) A leaders tend to re-inforce this orientation; a greater proportion of them than of the general high school population hold these perceptions.* D leaders, on the other hand, play no such role; if anything, they are a little less prone to high CCI scores than other students. If any group plays the role of consensus leadership in D, it is that of the high participants whose CCI scores tend to be a little higher than those of the population.

If students and leaders in A are less tolerant of conflict than those in D, this does not mean that they are more tolerant of the conflicting parties. For

*None of the differences between leaders and general population in A are statistically significant, but they are all in the same direction. Our sample probably underestimates the differences between leaders and populations, because non-response increases considerably the closer one draws to the end of the questionnaire. As the less intelligent and less conscientious respondents fall by the wayside, the sample becomes more and more biased in favor of middle-class students with middle-class attitudes. There is a fair correlation between CCI and IQ.

each of the five conflict situations explored by our sets of dyadic items, Table 7.11 shows the percentages of respondents who consider both opponents as equally to blame in the conflict. Student leaders and populations in D seem to be somewhat more prone to blame both opponents equally, but only on the first two items (Adults-Youth and U.S.-U.S.S.R.) do the differences in percentages reach statistical significance. The differences between leadership groups are generally no greater than between populations. Clearly, the tendency to hold both opponents responsible for participating in a conflict which, as we saw, characterizes A is not accompanied by a tendency to condemn both parties equally for their actions and for what they stand for. A similar result will be observed if we examine the tendency to inflict high blame, which is described by the figures in Table 7.12. This table disregards the distribution of blame between the opponents and considers only the highest point marked on either or both of the two blame scales for each conflict. If we compare this table with Table 7.10, we observe that the conflict that invited the highest proportions of large CCI scores (Democrats and Republicans) receives the lowest proportion of high blame scores. Conversely, in community D, fairly large percentages of high blame scores on conflict between adults and young people go with low CCI scores. There is no clear pattern recognizable between CCI and Blame scores, so that the two variables should be considered as independent.

TABLE 7.11
TENDENCY TO BLAME EQUALLY THE OPPONENTS IN FIVE TYPES OF CONFLICTS.
LEADERS, HIGH PARTICIPANTS, AND POPULATIONS
OF COMMUNITIES A AND D, IN PER CENT

Conflict Opponents	Community A		Community D		
	Leaders (31)	Population (488)	Leaders (42)	Population (1209)	High Participants (39)
Adults and Youth *	54.8	53.7	64.3	61.8	64.1
U.S. and U.S.S.R. *	22.6	25.8	31.0	35.7	28.2
Business and Labor	51.6	58.6	52.4	60.1	64.1
Whites and Negroes	35.5	50.4	35.7	51.0	53.8
Democrats and Republicans	90.3	89.6	87.6	85.9	87.2

*Difference between population percentages significant beyond the 1% level (t-test).

TABLE 7.12
TENDENCY TO INFLICT HIGH BLAME IN FIVE CONFLICT SITUATIONS.
LEADERS, POPULATIONS, AND HIGH PARTICIPANTS
COMMUNITIES A AND D, IN PER CENT

Opponents	Community A		Community D		
	Leaders (31)	Population (488)	Leaders (42)	Population (1209)	High Participants (34)
Adults and Youth	45.3	44.2	58.2	39.2	25.6
U.S. and U.S.S.R.	37.5	53.3	58.0	49.1	48.7
Business and Labor	62.0	45.2	51.7	43.9	51.3
Whites and Negroes	52.4	37.0	51.7	43.6	43.6
Democrats and Republicans	14.3	17.6	16.1	22.7	27.2

The manner in which adolescents look upon conflict between adults and young people deserves some special mention, since this is the only one among our five conflict types which the respondents may have personally experienced. If there is anything to the hypothesis of displacement (or transfer of learning), the responses to this conflict situation may affect others. It is on this set of items that we observe the largest differences between CCI scores in the two communities, with A adolescents being much more likely than those in D to hold both parties responsible for the conflict. In D, more people highly blame one or both opponents in such conflicts than consider both opponents responsible for the conflict, while the percentages stay within a narrow range in A. Thus, A adolescents seem more prone to object to conflict between adults and young people as such, while D adolescents object less to the conflict but are more willing to take a stand. We may thus find ourselves in the present of two types of community atmospheres, one in which conflict is felt to be objectionable (particularly if it affects the relations between generations), and another in which conflict is more accepted as part of life and in which children learn to form their own views regarding the merits of the case and of the opponents in it.

If this were the case, then we might expect that children in community D would tend to work out the ways for handling conflict, whereas those in A, being opposed to conflict as such, might have no consistent mental image of conflict.

The data in Table 7.13 confirm this inference. The table shows the percentages of students in the two communities who are completely consistent in the solutions they propose for resolving conflicts, irrespective of the specific choice of "tough" or "soft" solutions they make. Among both leaders and populations, a much larger percentage of D than of A adolescents choose consistently the same types of solutions and can thus be considered to have a definite view of the way in which conflicts should be handled.

TABLE 7.13
CONSISTENCY IN THE SOLUTIONS PROPOSED FOR SOLVING CONFLICTS
RESPONDENTS CONSISTENTLY SELECTING "TOUGH" OR "SOFT" SOLUTIONS,
AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL RESPONDENTS, COMMUNITIES A AND D

	Community A		Community D		
	Leaders (31)	Population (488)	Leaders (42)	Population (1209)	High Participants (39)
Per cent selecting consistent solutions	3.2	4.7	31.0	31.6	41.0

This, then, seems to be the main effect of community and high school structure upon developing political orientations. First, there appears to be some relationship between the structural "tightness" of the community and that of the school, and living experiences in these structures seem to generate expectations of conformity and consensus of varying strengths. Where such expectations are high, conflict is likely to be rejected as such, and no consistent orientations toward the solutions of conflicts tend to emerge; where expectations of consensus are lower, general attitudes toward conflict may be formed.

It should be born in mind that these inferences do not necessarily apply to individuals. We have considered only aggregate data for communities, and we have argued that the community culture forms a link between social structure and orienta-

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

tion toward conflict. Whether rejection of conflict by individuals is related to their images to conflict situations and their ways of handling them is a problem that invites investigation by more elaborate instruments than the ones used in this study.

It is a statistical fact of life that the sampling distribution of the standard deviation is skewed to the right. The smaller the sample and the more peaked the parent distribution, the more this is likely to be the case. This well known statistical fact has seldom been taken into account by those who study the formation of public opinion. Yet, it may be just as important, if not more so, as the social and psychological variables usually considered.

If we accept as a postulate that beliefs, values, attitudes, opinions, etc., are the variables in the opinion researcher's arsenal -- are typically formed or transmitted in small groups, then it becomes important to know whether such groups are likely to be homogeneous or heterogeneous. All sorts of reasons relating to our knowledge of social structure and of psychological propensities are usually advanced to show why small groups tend toward homogeneity. The present discussion will serve to remind us that such homogeneity will occur simply as chance, so that the social and psychological factors making for homogeneity are added to those which inhere in the sampling process. Suppose there existed in some population a predominant trend of opinion, then a rather large proportion of small groups that might be formed out of members of this population -- a proportion considerably larger than the non-statistician would expect -- will be homogeneous, i.e., all or most of its members will be of the same opinion and in so far as the individuals in the group differ from one another, there will be a tendency for them to belong to similar opinion groups, not to those far removed from one another.

This fact has a dual significance for the discussions that are to follow. Insofar as we are trying to show that the opinions we have constituted by the methods employed in this study are in some sense homogeneous, we will have to keep in mind that a certain amount of homogeneity -- and not by any means a small amount --

CHAPTER 8

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

1. THE PROBABILITY OF CONSENSUS

Anyone who wishes to study the relationships which may exist between participation in cliques or other small groups and social attitudes must come to grips with a basic statistical fact of life: the sampling distribution of the standard deviation is skewed to the right. The smaller the sample and the more peaked the parent distribution, the more this is likely to be the case. This well known statistical fact has seldom been taken into account by those who study the formation of public opinion. Yet, it may be just as important, if not more so, as the social and psychological variables usually considered.

If we accept as a postulate that beliefs, values, attitudes, opinions -- all the variables in the opinion researcher's arsenal -- are typically formed or transmitted in small groups, then it becomes important to know whether such groups are likely to be homogeneous or heterogeneous. All sorts of reasons relating to our knowledge of social structure and of psychological propensities are usually advanced to show why small groups tend toward homogeneity. The present discussion will serve to remind us that such homogeneity will occur simply on chance, so that the social and psychological factors making for homogeneity are added to those which inhere in the sampling process. Suppose there existed in some population a predominant trend of opinion; then a rather large proportion of small groups that might be formed out of members of this population -- a proportion considerably larger than the non-statistician would expect -- will be homogeneous, i.e. all or most of its members will be of the same opinion and in so far as the individuals in the group differ from one another, there will be a tendency for them to belong to similar opinion groups, not to those far removed from one another.

This fact has a dual significance for the discussions that are to follow. Insofar as we are trying to show that the cliques we have constituted by the methods employed in this study are in some sense homogeneous, we will have to keep in mind that a certain amount of homogeneity -- and not by any means a small amount --

may be ascribed to the laws of chance. If our cliques are no more homogeneous than might have been expected by chance, we might just as well have picked students from the school population at random, instead of engaging in a laborious and costly operation of clique detection. Insofar as we are interested in the effects of pluralism, on the other hand, it matters little whether the homogeneity of groups is ascribable to chance or to the operation of some social mechanism combined with the researcher's ingenuity: people who belong to separate groups do belong to them no matter how these groups have come into existence. In this context, any effort to demonstrate homogeneity is merely a step in the process of isolating pluralistic individuals.

Actually, we will not be able to provide full answers to either of these two questions -- that of the level of homogeneity of cliques as well as that of the effects of social pluralism. The first question requires the development of an adequate statistical model for establishing expectations regarding the homogeneity of cliques -- and this task has not yet been accomplished. The second problem can be handled only by techniques of data analysis rather different from those employed in the bulk of this study: the isolation of specific individuals who fulfill certain requirements of pluralistic participation.

The original design of this study called for the identification of categories of individuals who might be subject to pluralistic cross-pressures, not for the identification of specific individuals. The index of clique membership, already presented in Chapter 6, was designed to establish such categories. We have already expressed our suspicions, growing out of the scrutiny of our data, that this index cannot possibly accomplish this end. In the pages to follow, we will have to restrict ourselves, then, to the presentation of some prima facie evidence that there is some measure of validity to our clique detection procedures and to the discussion of the likelihood that pluralistic participation in high school is a likely social phenomenon.

II. ATTITUDINAL CORRELATES OF MEMBERSHIP

We begin by exploring the relationships between membership in formal or informal groups and socio-political orientations. We refrain from calling these relationships "effects" because the direction of causality is not known to us. In

any event, if there are such effects, they are certainly minor. Instead of subjecting the reader to a lengthy presentation of data showing the absence of relationships between variables that one might have expected to relate to each other, we present in Table 8.1 a summary table of only those attitudinal data that relate, however slightly, to some participation variable. (In view of the sample size, correlations of .06 or more are significant.)

TABLE 8.1
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND VARIOUS INDICES
OF POLITICAL ORIENTATION. COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED

	Number of Organizational Memberships	Number of Clique Memberships	Number of Member- ship and Acolyte Attachments
In-Group Orientation	.07	.00	.01
Immigration	-.14	-.04	-.05
Conflict Role Index:			
International	.14	.05	.05
Generational	.03	.01	.02
Industrial	.13	.05	.05
Racial	.09	.02	.06
Political	.14	.05	.09
Value Preferences			
Self, Power	-.09	-.05	-.09
Self, Friends	-.06	-.01	-.01
Self, Respect	.15	.05	.07
Self as Adult, Power	-.05	-.01	-.01
Self as Adult, Friends	-.05	-.05	-.02
Self as Adult, Respect	.11	.02	.03
Labor, Power	.11	.05	.05
Nation, Power	-.06	-.01	-.01
Blame Weight:			
International Conflict	.06	.05	.05
Generational Conflict	.02	.02	.03
Industrial Conflict	.10	.09	.01
Racial Conflict	.09	.02	.04
Political Conflict	.08	.03	.04
Conflict Origin: Beliefs and Misunderstanding in:			
International Conflict	.14	.07	.09
Generational Conflict	.12	.05	.07
Industrial Conflict	.11	.01	.05
Racial Conflict	.05	.05	.01

It is quite apparent from these data that clique membership is unrelated to nearly all of the indices. Involvement in formal organizations has a weak but rather consistent relationship to certain aspects of conflict orientations. It must be noted, however, that the coefficients in the clique membership columns, although very small, always have the same sign as the corresponding coefficients in the organizations column.

The impression one gains from these figures, small as they are, is that of a general rejection of conflict, which we have already noted in the previous chapters. The main value which these young people share is respect, and even friendship is unimportant in comparison with it. The more a young person is involved in organizations, the less he believes in power for himself either now or in the future. Conflict is conceived as merely a matter of misunderstandings or, at most, ideological differences.

These are the predominant ideological positions which characterize the middle classes that are heavily represented among the organizational participants. Participation in organizations reinforces value positions which are already learned in the environment of the culture and which doubtless are also propounded in the classroom. To the extent that the clique structure is less definitely tied into the official structure of the school and includes some people or groups of people who are not involved in it, the dominant values are less in evidence.

This difference between formal and informal participation also affects expression of interest in public affairs. As Table 8.2 shows, formal group participants tend to evince some interest in public affairs, if only a spectator interest. For clique members, this relationship between degree of involvement and interest in public affairs comes close to disappearing. The effect of adding acolytes to the clique members is to raise the correlations, which indicates that the acolytes are probably made of the same stuff as the formal organization members. The data on the social origins and academic achievement of these students already led us to expect this.

In order to complete the picture, we present Table 8.3, the data describing the relationship between the qualitative index of clique participation and

TABLE 8.2
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL AND
INFORMAL GROUPS AND MEASURES OF INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.
COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED

	Number of Organizations	Number of Clique Memberships	Number of Clique Attachments (Mem- bers and Acolytes)
Frequency of reading a newspaper	.15	.07	.12
Thoroughness in reading the newspaper	.18	.04	.05
Frequency of listening to news (radio or TV)	.13	.04	.02
Frequency of discussing politics with parents	.21	.02	.05
Frequency of discussing politics with friends	.21	.06	.07
Interest in a course in public affairs	.21	.05	.07
Interest in working for a party (as adult)	-.12	1.02	-.03

the indices of interest in public affairs used before. The only thing remarkable about this table is its close correspondence with the preceding one. This indicates that the index of clique participation does not measure anything very different from the quantitative index, and that the main factor accounting for such small variations as can be observed is probably the degree of involvement in the social life of the school.

Given these findings, we are forced to abandon the hope that the qualitative index of clique participation might allow us to identify a group of people having some likelihood of being subject to pluralistic cross-pressures. The fact that neither the qualitative nor the quantitative index of clique participation relates to measures of conflict orientations has, by itself, little bearing on the issue. Indeed, if cliques were homogeneous but at the same time differed from one another in their orientations toward public affairs, we should expect an absence of correlations between the clique index and any particular orientations. But if, at the same time,

TABLE 8.3
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INDEX OF CLIQUE PARTICIPATION AND
VARIOUS MEASURES OF INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS
MEANS FOR COMMUNITIES A AND D COMBINED

	Newspaper reading	Attention to Newspaper	News on Radio and TV	Discussion with parents	Discussion with friends	Interest in course work	Interest in party work
Non-members	4.16	3.23	4.19	2.87	2.78	2.20	2.60
Acolytes in one clique	4.25	3.41	4.15	2.94	2.86	2.13	2.71
Members in one clique	4.15	3.36	4.21	2.84	2.90	2.15	2.68
Acolytes in two or more cliques	4.42	3.35	4.24	3.01	2.90	2.30	2.54
Members in one clique, acolytes in two or more	4.42	3.45	4.21	2.99	3.01	2.36	2.65
Members in two or more cliques	4.49	3.69	4.37	3.11	2.94	2.37	2.51
Members in two or more cliques, acolytes in one or more	4.53	3.33	4.43	2.99	3.05	2.34	2.48
Correlation coefficient:	.12	.07	.04	.05	.09	.07	-.03

increased involvement in the clique structure fails to relate to increased interest in public matters (and relationships, insofar as they exist, are very weak), it is difficult to imagine how participation in a variety of cliques could generate cross-pressures affecting orientations toward conflict in the social world. If cliques differ in this respect, the differences are perhaps not clearly enough articulated, not salient enough for the life of the groups, to generate a heightened interest in the issues involved. Alternatively, one might feel that such cross-pressures as exist produce the effect that Lazarsfeld and his collaborators have described: a psychological withdrawal from politics. If the latter were the case, it would evidently be difficult to discover any visible effects of multiple participation.

These considerations greatly change the task of the researcher. If it can no longer be assumed that categoric groups of multiple-participants undergoing pluralistic experiences can be identified, the only alternative is to search for individuals who might display the desired characteristics. This would involve first of all the identification of cliques that are homogeneous with respect to some variable or set of variables and at the same time different from one another. Individuals belonging to both cliques might then be taken to be pluralistic participants.

III. CLIQUE HOMOGENEITY

The first task, then, is to ascertain the extent to which cliques are homogeneous. As we have already mentioned, this analysis has the double purpose of testing whether our procedures yield cliques that can be considered as anything but chance collections of people and, at the same time, laying the groundwork for the search for pluralistic individuals described in the preceding section.

In order to test cliques for homogeneity, we selected twenty-five variables which, in previous analyses, had been found to be related to social participation or which had discriminated between students in the two school communities. One of these, Student's Value Preference for Power, had to be eliminated from the analysis when it was found that in most cliques, only a small number of students had answered the relevant items.

As a measure of homogeneity, we used the standard deviation. In view of the non-parametric nature of practically all of the measurements in this study,

this may seem hazardous; but since we have used parametric statistics throughout this study, disregarding the problems that this might entail, the use of the standard deviation was at least no great departure from our own (and many other researchers') practice. Also, it was not and could not be our intention to obtain a precise measure of homogeneity: it would be sufficient for our purposes to identify variables with respect to which cliques tended to be homogeneous. At the same time, we hoped to be able to identify cliques exhibiting a particularly high degree of homogeneity and investigate the special properties that they may have.

The results of the first of these procedures -- the count of cliques homogeneous with respect to each of the twenty-four variables is shown in Table 8.4. In this table, percentages have been computed to the base of the number of cliques actually used in the count, and this number is given in each instance. Cliques were not used for counting purposes if less than three members answered the questions underlying the variables. Thus, depending on non-response rates, the number of cliques actually included in the count changes from variable to variable. This introduces a bias in favor of the larger cliques, since a non-response on the part of any one member makes a three-man clique useless for counting purposes.

In order to interpret this table, it is necessary to have a definition of a "low" standard deviation. The difficulty in setting a standard for "low" deviations derives from the fact, already mentioned, that the sampling distribution of the standard deviation for groups of unequal size is not known. Moreover, it can hardly be claimed that the cliques have been selected independently from one another -- we already have given evidence that they come from a somewhat limited stratum of the school population, and the overlap between them is by no means accidental.

Under these circumstances, we decided to employ a rather crude criterion: any clique standard deviation which, if subtracted from the population standard deviation, yields a difference of .1 or more was counted as being "below" the population standard deviation. This difference should, of course, not be regarded as a "confidence zone;" its only purpose is to prevent our counting standard deviations that lie very close to the population value.

TABLE 8.4
CLIQUE HOMOGENEITY WITH RESPECT TO SELECTED VARIABLES.
PER CENT OF CLIQUES WITH "LOW" STANDARD DEVIATIONS.
COMMUNITIES A AND D

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	Community A				Community D				Standard deviations	
	Members Total*	%	Acolytes Total	%	Members Total*	%	Acolytes Total*	%	Non- Member	Member
School grade	36	89	45	73	74	88	168	78	.78	.86
Socio-economic index	29	93	41	93	62	92	162	91	.93	.93
Grade average	35	91	45	82	74	88	167	77	.68	.75
Number of organizations	28	82	42	74	56	70	151	65	1.59	1.75
Number of school activities	25	88	36	81	45	71	119	76	.80	.76
Number of clique memberships	36	58	30	87	74	31	104	25		
Number of acolyte attachments	36	67	45	33	74	39	168	20		
Interest in public affairs	36	64	45	40	74	66	168	55	.97	.86
Media consumption	31	100	40	92	62	98	155	97	.38	.30
Solutions:										
United States	35	69	45	78	74	62	168	61	.85	.81
Adults	34	76	45	56	74	74	168	53	.77	.70
Young people	34	74	45	60	74	67	167	65	.76	.70
Business or Labor	34	65	45	71	73	62	168	42	.71	.69
Whites or Negroes	31	61	45	58	73	58	167	57	.76	.76
Blame Weight:										
International	31	89	45	80	71	97	168	96	2.20	1.90
Generational	26	74	45	78	74	82	168	65	2.01	1.72
Blame Balance:										
Generational	35	71	45	62	74	62	168	84	1.58	1.55
Vindictiveness against Athiests	35	49	45	42	74	57	168	51	.90	.82
Vindictiveness against Communists	31	42	45	38	73	58	167	42	1.85	1.84
Value Preferences:										
Independence	28	54	40	55	57	53	152	49	1.08	1.08
Interesting life	27	59	42	48	56	63	150	44	.98	.94
National power	21	38	35	49	48	44	135	59	1.20	1.18
Group orientation	35	23	45	31	71	42	168	40	.45	.55
Immigration Index	34	21	45	53	72	36	167	31	.51	.57

*The term "total" here refers to the total number of cliques whose members gave a sufficiently large number of responses to be included. This is the basis of each percentage

Thus, we have no clear standard for evaluating and interpreting the results shown in Table 8.4. Before we attempt to investigate the substantive meaning of these figures, we must therefore consider the reasons that might account for high numbers of cliques having low standard deviations on a given variable. These are: (a) chance, (b) differences between the variabilities of the populations of clique members and of non-participants, and (c) clique homogeneity. Only if the first two are eliminated can we be justified in concluding that our cliques tend to be homogeneous with respect to the variables we are examining.

Chance factors could make for a large number of "low" standard deviations because of the skewed sampling distribution of the standard deviation which we have already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. This effect should be particularly noticeable if the parent distribution has a particularly strong mode; it should further affect small samples more than large samples.

The first of these two conditions does not appear to have an appreciable effect. The "low" standard deviations most frequent in Table 8.4, that on Media Consumption, may be taken as an example. This standard deviation is based on a fairly flat distribution, a three-point scale with about 40 per cent of the cases in the middle category, and one third and one-quarter of them in the two others. The Group Orientation Index, on the other hand is based on a distribution whose mode comprises about two-thirds of the cases; yet this variable produces a particularly low proportion of standard deviations among the cliques in both cities. The distribution of Solutions-Adults is very similar in shape to that of Group Orientations, yet the proportion of low standard deviations is moderately high in this instance. An examination of all the distributions and the corresponding proportions of low standard deviations reveals no recognizable patterns. We do not believe, therefore, that the shape of the various distributions accounts for the results we observe.

As to the possibility that the proportions of "low" standard deviations is a function of clique sizes, the data do not bear this out. Table 8.5 shows the distributions of "low" standard deviations by clique sizes for community A, which is the better of the two schools to use as an example, because the range of clique sizes in D is much narrower than in A. Clearly, there is no relationship between

more than the homogeneity of the entire stratum of clique members.

TABLE 8.5
DISTRIBUTION OF "LOW" STANDARD DEVIATIONS BY CLIQUE SIZE.
COMMUNITY A

Percent of "Low" Standard Deviations	Number of persons in clique											
	3	4	5	6	7	8	11	13	15	21	23	38
41-50		1		1	1		1					
51-60	1	1		1	2					1		
61-70	6	2		1				1	1		1	
71-80	1	1	3		2	1						1
81-90	1		1			2						
91-100	1											
Total	10	5	4	3	5	3	1	1	1	1	1	1

those two variables. Also, since D cliques are on the whole smaller than A cliques, one would expect proportions of "low" standard deviations to be in general smaller in D than in A. A glance at Table 8.4 shows that this is not the case.

We see no evidence in these figures which would allow us to persist in the suspicion that the "low" standard deviations are, in this instance, due to the peculiarities of the sampling distribution. Therefore, we proceed to investigate between the variabilities of the populations of members and non-members of cliques.

In the last two columns of Table 8.4 we have we have entered these standard deviations for all variables, except for the clique participation variables themselves. There is some tendency, although a small one, for the populations of clique members to have smaller standard deviations than the population of non-members. This is particularly true where the proportion of the "low" standard deviations is high. Also, the two group orientation indices, on which cliques are least homogeneous, give the reverse picture: the standard deviation for clique members is higher than that for non-members. To be sure, the differences are small in most instances, and they are not entirely consistent. Yet we cannot entirely reject the hypothesis that what appears to be clique homogeneity is actually nothing more than the homogeneity of the entire stratum of clique members.

This suspicion is reinforced by another consideration. In general, we find that the acolyte groups behave very much like the cliques. To be sure, the per cent of "low" standard deviations is in general smaller for acolyte groups than for cliques, but it usually is not very much smaller, and there are instances of differences in the opposite direction. Now, if acolyte groups are weak extensions of cliques, we would expect them to be less homogeneous than the cliques themselves. Furthermore, we would expect acolyte groups to be homogeneous on the same variables as the cliques to which, presumably, they are attached. This, we must report, is not the case. The actual frequencies of association between "low" standard deviations for cliques and low standard deviations for acolytes is only slightly above the level of chance association -- certainly not enough to argue that there exist a close association between acolyte groups and the corresponding membership or star cliques. This means that, with respect to the attitudinal variables here under scrutiny, acolytes must be considered general members of the stratum from which clique members are recruited. And if such groups display degrees of "homogeneity" very similar to that of cliques, we cannot discard the notion that any set of individuals taken from this stratum might display the observed amounts of "homogeneity."

IV. ORIENTATIONS OF CLIQUE MEMBERS

With these caveats in mind, what conclusions can we draw from the data in Table 8.4? There are, first of all, a few variables on which such a large proportion of the cliques are homogeneous that the fact certainly needs to be recorded. As expected, many cliques represent a relatively narrow range of socio-economic status categories and of academic performance levels. To a considerable extent, membership or non-membership in organizations appears to be a criterion for clique participation, particularly in A, where organizational life occupies a great proportion of the students. Membership in other cliques does not qualify as a criterion for joining a particular clique in D, but it does in A: some cliques in A evidently consist almost exclusively of members that also belong to other cliques, whereas others consist mainly of single-clique adherents; the division is not nearly so definite in D.

Thus, there exists in A an in-crowd of multiple members, and a scattered group of people who belong to more isolated cliques. If there is such an in-crowd in D, it is not large enough to affect the statistics.

All this is as expected in the light of what we already know about the social characteristics and group structures of clique members in the two communities. It indicates that the collection of figures in Table 8.4 does reflect reality in some degree, and that it will pay to glance at the remainder of the table, if only to draw from it some indications as to the direction in which future studies might proceed.

The most striking figures in the table are those relating to Media Consumption. If they are not the result of some statistical artifact, they indicate that there are types of cliques in which exposure to the media is generally high, while it is low in others. This could well be the case, inasmuch as cliques are likely to differ in their activities and intellectual level. What makes us look with suspicion at these figures is the equally high proportion of acolyte groups that appear to be homogeneous with respect to Media Consumption. It could be, of course, that the stratum of clique participants consists of several substrata, distinct from one another in their communication habits. We cannot be sure of this, but in future research ventures it might be worthwhile to explore this variable more carefully.

Next we notice that variables belonging to the same cluster (e.g. Solutions, Vindictiveness, etc.) tend to be associated with homogeneity proportions in the same range. This cannot be due to similarities in the distributions, since these frequently are not alike; the Solutions-U.S. distributions, for instance, is much flatter than that of the other Solutions variables. We are tempted, then to argue that cliques are more likely to be homogeneous on Solutions than on Group Orientations. Similarly, we notice somewhat higher proportions of homogeneous cliques on the Blame variables than we do on Vindictiveness.

It would be dangerous in the extreme to draw socio-psychological conclusions from these observations. But it might be appropriate to suggest that "toughness" or "softness" of solutions as well as Blame may be symptomatic of underlying attitudes of general "tough-" or "tender-mindedness." This would make

sense if we recall that norm compliance was the criterion that students themselves employed for distinguishing between types of cliques: the less norm-compliant are evidently the "tougher" cliques. If this were true, then it would still be difficult to understand why the two types of Group Orientation indices do not behave like the Blame and Solution indices.

The most serious criticism that can be levelled against this study is that we have been altogether too sanguine in expecting groups of students, constituted on the basis of friendship choices, to exhibit homogeneity with respect to public affairs. Politics, social questions and all similar matters are, after all, rather marginal to most young people's interests. The only thing that could be reasonably expected was some kind of transfer of learning from the social experience in the groups to the arena of public affairs. We tried to obtain some information about these group atmospheres in the group structure part of the instrument, when we asked students to indicate the amount of norm compliance in the groups to which they belonged. But the attempt to match the groups designated by individual students with those constructed by our clique detection procedures proved very difficult and unreliable.

Still, toughness and tendermindedness, norm-compliance vs. non-compliance, might well be variables that should be more thoroughly explored in any future research. For these are variables which relate not only to public life but to the private life of young adults and to the life of their groups as well. If it is true that the young person's social experience in some degree contributes to the formation of his orientations toward public affairs -- and we are not yet prepared to abandon this hypothesis -- the relevant variables must be those which relate closely to his experience.

What about pluralism? If we discard the notion that acolytes can be regarded as weak clique members (and in view of the evidence we must discard it) we are left with a rather small group of multiple members -- 156 of them in the two schools, or a little less than nine per cent of the population. Most of these, in all probability, do not experience any attitudinal cross-pressures at all: the social

and ideological environment of the clique structure is not sufficiently diverse to make cross-pressure a very likely event. Clearly, it is not possible to designate some group of students who are most subject to cross pressures. The only alternative course of action, which we have not attempted to pursue, is to isolate from the large matrix of individuals the few that can be specifically shown to undergo discordant influences or experiences. This type of analysis, which may prove highly rewarding, must await the development of a new approach to the data.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

1. SUBSTANTIVE FINDINGS

This study was conducted primarily for the purpose of developing instruments and testing ideas; it was not expected to yield substantive findings of any consequence. Nevertheless, it is impossible to develop instruments without at the same time exploring the theory which the instruments are intended to subserve. Nor is it humanly possible to conclude the work without articulating some of the indications which seem to emerge from the data. Here, then, are these indications:

1. The notion that pluralistic orientations appropriate for life in a democracy are, to any significant extent, developed in the social structure of the high school will probably have to be abandoned. The high school does not serve as the prototype of a community in which the individual learns how to cope with social conflict. For, all of the structures which can be identified in the high school are highly consensus-oriented. The network of officially sponsored organizations and activities is restricted to a particular layer of students characterized by better than average social origins and better than average academic performance. Belonging to several of these organizations seems to foster conformity rather than independence of spirit: participants in the official school activities tend to take a negative view of conflict as such and thus do not learn how to cope with conflict situations.

The informal clique structure, insofar as its locus is the school, may well have similar characteristics. There may well be some cliques whose attitudes toward life may differ from the consensus, the main differences arising probably from varying conceptions of the need for norm compliance. Yet the chances of participation in cliques of perceptibly different orientations is extremely slim. The number of individuals who can be considered multiple participants -- in the sense that they belong to several cliques -- comprises only a small fraction, certainly less than ten per cent, of the school populations. This alone prevents the phenomenon of pluralistic cross-pressure from becoming a mass phenomenon

affecting any appreciable number of students. But among these multiple participants, among this restricted group of candidates for pluralism, most are probably not subjected to any cross-pressure at all; the groups to which they belong are, in all likelihood, similar to each other.

For all of these reasons, it is highly questionable that the school as an institution can be expected to provide pluralistic experiences. This does not exclude the possibility that a small number of individuals are subjected to such experiences and that their social development is significantly affected by them. These individuals may, indeed, be the political leaders of tomorrow -- a small but significant group. The methods of this study did not provide for the identification of such individuals.

2. The general culture of the community has its correlates in both the group structure of the school and the orientations of the students. In the larger of the two communities investigated in this study, the informal group structure was much looser, less all-embracing. A corollary of this may be less pressure toward consensus. Students in the more metropolitan school displayed less rejection of conflict as such and seemed to have formed firmer views on how conflicts ought to be solved. This is not to say that these views were particularly realistic -- indeed their very consistency indicates a lack of adaptation of the envisaged solutions to the specifics of the situations that are to be dealt with.

3. In the age group under investigation in this study, conflict orientations lack coherence. Outcomes of conflict are not related to conflict origins, tendencies to blame opponents do not relate to orientations toward in-groups and out-groups, and the actual content of conflict -- the characteristics of the opponents, the issues at stake, the behavior in which opponents engage -- is scarcely related to the responses. There are no changes in this respect between the tenth and the twelfth grades, so that the question arises whether more coherent orientations toward conflict are formed later in life.

4. The major preoccupation of those students who are actively involved in the social life of the school appears to be with respectability. Status considera-

tions, often taking a form somewhat different from those common in adult society, pervade the school. But the culturally sanctioned image of status involves both openness and exclusiveness. These status attitudes -- which this study did not fully explore -- seem to affect the attitudes of students toward in-groups and out-groups. This gives rise to a verbal agreement with the need for openness (meeting new people, accepting them) and a simultaneous insistence on the purity of the group. It is possible that these ambivalent group orientations contribute to the amorphous character of orientations toward public affairs in general.

II. METHODOLOGY

1. Some progress has been made toward defining aspects of conflict orientations and devising an instrument measuring them. The use of dyadic items ascribing identical types of conflict behavior to two opponents and the use of parallel items for different conflict situations permits the discovery of several general, content-free aspects of conflict perceptions and to ascertain the extent to which these form a coherent set. The method is so designed that respondents can first make a selection among items which they consider relevant to a given conflict situation and, in a second step, designate those they consider important. This second step, which in the present form of the instrument called for ranking the three most important items, proved too difficult for many respondents. In further revisions of the instrument, it might be possible to substitute checking for the rankings, or else to give respondents more practice in filling out this type of form. The "blame scales" attached to each item set permit discrimination between matter-of-fact perceptions and the more emotionally based judgments of respondents.

2. The instrument as it now stands is too long for ordinary administration. This was known before the actual testing began, and most of the items toward the end of the questionnaire were included as "fillers." This leaves open the question whether such variables as value preferences are useful for the purpose of analyzing orientations toward public affairs. On the other hand, the instrument lacks variables which can be clearly considered as dependent, in the sense that they relate to the respondent's potential behavior. In the original design, the group

orientation items, i.e. those dealing with the treatment of non-conformists and those relating to orientations toward one's own friendship groups and toward immigration into the United States, were included as such possible dependent variables. As it turns out, these items had not a very high pay-off. In particular, cliques tend to be heterogeneous with respect to them -- a phenomenon which remains unexplained. The instrument further lacks items which might permit the researcher to establish links between private experience and public affairs.

3. A group structure instrument has been devised which yields a great deal of information in a relatively small amount of time (10 minutes). Much of the information is, however, very difficult to process and interpret, particularly the student's reports on the number and characteristics of the groups to which they belong. The problem of matching the groups designated by students with those constituted by an objective procedure proved very complex, so that the indices derived from this procedure could be used only with the greatest caution. It is probable that the attempt to deal with cliques as perceived by individual students should be abandoned. Instead, the sociometric questions can stand strengthening. In particular, it was perhaps too much to expect that groups constituted on the basis of a question calling for the designation of personal friends would yield groups homogeneous in orientations toward public affairs. Questions asking for the designation of individuals with whom respondents engage in activities similar in form to those observable in the public arena might be more appropriate. The danger is that such questions might have a very low yield and make it impossible to constitute any network of groups exhibiting some degree of cohesiveness.

4. A method has been devised for constituting cliques in a large sociometric matrix. This method has the following advantages:

(a) It is not necessary to operate on the entire matrix at once, such as is done in other (mathematically more elegant) procedures; rather, cliques are built up in areas of the matrix exhibiting a high density of choices. This makes it possible, in principle, to handle matrices of any size, including those for which

the memory space in modern computers would be insufficient. The method has not yet been programmed for use by computers, but such programming is in principle possible since the solutions yielded by the method is unique, and since the data not currently operated upon can be kept in auxiliary storage.

(b) The method yields cliques of known cohesiveness, since one of the criteria for establishing them is that each member added must contribute to the clique z-score, i.e. the probability of the observed number of choices within the group, given the total number of choices made by clique members.

(c) The criteria for clique detection are so formulated as to take into account the social relations which actually exist in the universe under examination. For this reason, different sets of criteria are applied in order to detect different types of cliques, those based on the density of relations between all participants, as well as those based on common choices of a central person by those attracted to him.

III. EDUCATIONAL POLICY

While this study was not designed to yield results directly applicable to educational practice, one extremely serious finding of this study must be mentioned: the relative isolation of many students from the school as a community. Between twenty and fifty per cent of the students have no place in either the formal or the informal structure of the school. Insofar as learning and the motivation for learning are in part supported by contacts among students, this isolation probably reduces the opportunities of some students considerably. Those least involved in either the formal or the informal structure are typically the students with barely satisfactory or less than satisfactory academic records. This raises questions about the wisdom of the policies of many school districts which restrict the scholastically poorer students from participation in school activities.

IV. INDICATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

1. Instruments designed to test the relationships between social participation and the development of orientations toward public affairs should contain more material than was included in this study concerning the personal orientations

of students. Of particular importance are the variables of exposure to the media, not so much because of the information about public affairs that may be derived from the media but because differential amounts of exposure probably distinguish between different types of cliques. A second set of variables that needs to be explored is that of "tough-" vs. "tendermindedness" because it relates to both the students' experience in their own social groups and to major aspects of public life.

2. The analysis of clique structure can probably be somewhat simplified by omission of the acolyte category, since it is highly doubtful that acolyte groups are extensions of cliques.

FIRST GROUP APPENDIX A INSTRUMENT

SAMPLE INSTRUMENTS

The following instruments, used in this study, appear in this appendix:

1. First group structure instrument, administered in Community A.

2. First orientation instrument, used in communities B and C. The

There were two alternate forms of this instrument, differing only in the questions referring to conflicts in the public arena (questions 30-37 and 30a-37a respectively). The first form of this questionnaire is included in full, followed by the alternate questions used in the second form of the instrument.

3. Interview for students in Community B.

4. Interview for parents in Community B.

5. Final questionnaires, administered in Communities A and D

(two parts: group structure and orientations).

FIRST GROUP STRUCTURE INSTRUMENT

This instrument could not be bound into this volume in its entirety because of its unusual format. The full questionnaire was mimeographed on legal size paper. A pad of twenty-six tabs, of the same length as the page but only one-half as wide, was stapled to the top of the back page in its center. The first two tabs contained the instructions, and one of the remaining tabs, containing sets of triangular boxes for checking, are bound into this report. The tabs differed only in the wording of the phrases above the checking boxes, referring to various types of joint activities. The questions which appeared at the head of the tabs not included in this report were as follows:

2. What person or group of people have you been close to in school sports lately (on a team, as cheerleader)?
3. What person or group of people have you worked with lately for the good of the school (clean-up drives, homecoming, carnivals, etc.)?
4. What person or group of people have you studied or done homework with lately?
5. What person or group of people have you worked with in school clubs and activities lately (plays, musical performances, debates, language clubs, etc.)?
6. What person or group of people do you usually eat lunch with?
7. What person or group of people have you had dinner with lately (at your home, at theirs, at another friend's)?
8. What person or group of people do you often talk to in school (before, between, and after classes)?
9. What person or group of people do you often get together with on hobbies or non-school sports (working on cars, skating, bowling, practicing shooting baskets, etc.)?
10. What person or group of people have you gone down town with lately (to movies, window-shopping, etc.)?
11. What person or group of people have you gone out with for a snack or coke lately (hanging out, fooling around)?
12. What person or group of people have you gone driving around with lately?
13. What person or group of people do you often sit around and talk with (watching TV, listening to records, etc.)?
14. What persons have you gone on single dates with lately?
15. What person or group of people have you gone on double or triple (or more) dates with lately? (List boys AND girls.)
16. Which of the people on your list have you worked with on a paying job lately?

17. What person or group of people have you worked with in clubs and other activities outside school lately (Y, junior service clubs, Scouts)?
18. What person or group of people have you worked on charitable, civic, or patriotic activities with lately (junior nurses, collected for UNICEF or Red Cross)?
19. What person or group of people have you gone to church with lately or participated in church activities with (youth groups, choir, etc.)?
20. What person or group of people have you gone to small parties or social get-togethers with lately?
21. What person or group of people have you gone to large parties or to school dances and parties with lately?
22. What person or group of people have you worked with in school elections this year?
23. Is there anything important that you do with any of the people on your list that hasn't been mentioned? If there is, list it here _____ and make the usual check marks.
24. Which of the people you have listed do you consider your closest friends?

Additional questions of a demographic nature and referring to group activity are included.

11/28/61 Adlison

Michigan State University
Bureau of Social & Political Research

CIVIC EDUCATION STUDY

Part One

Your name

Grade

Program (college prep, commercial, general,
vocational, and so on)

Home address

**DO NOT TURN THIS PAGE UNTIL YOU HAVE
READ IT AND MADE YOUR LIST.**

You will see that on each side of this form there are numbered, ruled lines. On these lines put the names of all the people that you have been spending free time with, or working fairly closely with on activities or on a job.

We'd like to know the names of the people who are of some importance to you — your friends, people you work with, people who belong to your crowd. We are not interested in people who merely happen to be in the same club with you, only the ones you really have some contact with. List both girls and boys.

Please PRINT and give FIRST and LAST names. When you write the names down, start at the top of the column on the left. When you have used up all the lines in the left-hand column, go on to the right-hand column.

Include people who don't go to this school if you spend any time with them. If you do list someone who doesn't go to this school, circle the number by his [her] name.

When you have listed all the people you spend free time with or work with, turn this page.

**DO NOT TURN THIS PAGE
UNTIL YOU HAVE READ IT
AND MADE YOUR LIST.**

Part One

Sec. 1

General Instructions

In the next few pages we will ask you to show what things you do with the people you have just listed. An example of the kind of question you will be asked is this one:

"What person or group of people have you gone to a game with lately?"

If you have not gone to a game with anyone,

check the "None" box



and go on to the question on the next page.

If you have gone to a game with someone, look at the sets of three spaces headed "A", "B", and "C". There is a set of three spaces for each of the names on your list.

If you recently went to a game with one person or a group of people, put a check mark in space "A" opposite the name of each person you went to the game with:

	A	B	C
SUSAN SMITH	☒	☐	☐
JOHN DOE	☒	☐	☐
RICHARD ROE	☐	☐	☐
JANE JONES	☒	☐	☐

If you went to some other game with a different person or different group of people, put a check mark in space "B" opposite the name of each person you went to that game with. Note that the second group of people may include some of the same people who made up group "A".

	A	B	C		A	B	C
SUSAN SMITH	☒	☐	☐		☒	☐	☐
JOHN DOE	☒	☐	☐	OR	☒	☒	☐
RICHARD ROE	☐	☒	☐		☐	☒	☐
JANE JONES	☒	☐	☐		☒	☐	☐

If you have not gone to a game with anyone,

check the "None" box



and go on to the question on the next page.

If you have gone to a game with someone, look at the sets of three spaces headed "A", "B", and "C". There is a set of three spaces for each of the names on your list.

If you recently went to a game with one person or a group of people, put a check mark in space "A" opposite the name of each person you went to the game with:

	A	B	C
SUSAN SMITH	☒	☐	☐
JOHN DOE	☒	☐	☐
RICHARD ROE	☐	☐	☐
JANE JONES	☒	☐	☐

Sec. 2

If you went to some other game with a different person or different group of people, put a check mark in space "B" opposite the name of each person you went to that game with. Note that the second group of people may include some of the same people who made up group "A".

	A	B	C		A	B	C
SUSAN SMITH	☒	☐	☐		☒	☐	☐
JOHN DOE	☒	☐	☐	OR	☒	☒	☐
RICHARD ROE	☐	☒	☐		☐	☒	☐
JANE JONES	☒	☐	☐		☒	☐	☐

If you went to still another game with a third person or third group of people, put a check mark in space "C" opposite the name of each person in that third group. Again, the third group of people may include some of the same people who made up groups "A" and "B".

	A	B	C		A	B	C
SUSAN SMITH	☒	☐	☐		☒	☐	☐
JOHN DOE	☒	☐	☐	OR	☒	☒	☐
RICHARD ROE	☐	☒	☒		☐	☒	☒
JANE JONES	☒	☐	☒		☒	☐	☒

As you answer the questions, names of more people may occur to you; add them to your list as you think of them.

Sec. 1

1. What person or group of people have you gone to games or pep rallies with lately?

None



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11	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	41
12	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	42
13	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	43
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15	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	45
16	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	46
17	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	47
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29	△	△	△	△	△	△	△	59
30	△	△	△	△	△	△	△	60

Sec. 2

ADD NEW NAMES IF YOU NEED TO

Sec. 1

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Sec. 2

If you have added names to your list, go back to the beginning and check the people you have added.

If you are sure all people have been checked for all activities, turn to the next page.

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Sec. 1

Part Two

The following questions are about yourself, your family, and your friends.

1. What school clubs or school activities do you regularly participate in? (Write names of clubs or activities. If you are an officer, write name of office.) ☐ None

Name of club or activity

Office you hold

2. What clubs or activities do you regularly participate in outside school ? ☐ None

Name of club or activity

Office you hold

3. What is your religious preference? _____

3a. If you are a Protestant, what particular kind? _____

4. What is your race?

☐

White

☐

Negro

Other (explain) _____

5. Who is the main breadwinner in your family?

☐

Father

☐

Mother

Other (explain) _____

6. What is the occupation of the main breadwinner in your family?

6a. What kind of business does he [she] work in? _____

6b. Does he [she] work for someone else?

☐

works for self

☐

works for an employer

7. Whom do you live with?

☐

Both of my parents

☐

My father and stepmother

☐

My father

☐

My mother and stepfather

☐

My mother

Other (explain) _____

8. How much schooling does your father (or stepfather, or guardian) have?

☐

Elementary school

☐

High school graduate and trade or business school training

☐

Some high school, but did not graduate

☐

Some college education

☐

Some high school and trade or business school

☐

College graduate

2. What clubs or activities do you regularly participate in outside school ? ☐ None

Name of club or activity

Office you hold

3. What is your religious preference? _____

3a. If you are a Protestant, what particular kind? _____

4. What is your race?

☐

White

☐

Negro

Other (explain) _____

5. Who is the main breadwinner in your family?

☐

Father

☐

Mother

Other (explain) _____

6. What is the occupation of the main breadwinner in your family?

6a. What kind of business does he [she] work in? _____

6b. Does he [she] work for someone else?

☐

works for self

☐

works for an employer

Sec. 2

7. Whom do you live with?

☐

Both of my parents

☐

My father and stepmother

☐

My father

☐

My mother and stepfather

☐

My mother

Other (explain) _____

8. How much schooling does your father (or stepfather, or guardian) have?

☐

Elementary school

☐

High school graduate and trade or business school training

☐

Some high school, but did not graduate

☐

Some college education

☐

Some high school and trade or business school

☐

College graduate

☐

High school graduate

☐

Post-graduate college training

How much schooling does your mother (or stepmother, or guardian) have?

☐

Elementary school

☐

High school graduate and trade or business school training

☐

Some high school, but did not graduate

☐

Some college education

☐

Some high school and trade or business school

☐

College graduate

☐

High school graduate

☐

Post-graduate college training

10. What do you expect to do after you get out of high school?

- ☐ Get a job right away
- ☐ Go into military service and get a job afterwards
- ☐ Go into military service and go to college afterwards
- ☐ Go into military service and make a career of it
- ☐ Go to a trade or business school
- ☐ Go to college
- ☐ Get married and go to college
- ☐ Get married and get a job
- ☐ Get married and be a homemaker

11. If everything goes well, what kind of a job do you hope to have ten years from now? Write name or description of job: If you don't have any idea about this, write "Don't Know." For girls, if you want to be a housewife, put that down, and then say what kind of job you would like your husband to have.

12. Has there been any change in who is in the group of people you go around with?

- ☐ No, I'm still going with the same people. [GO ON TO QUESTION 13]
- ☐ Yes, there is some change [ANSWER NEXT QUESTION]

How do your new friends differ from the old ones?	Old Friends	Newer Friends	Both the Same
Which ones are more interested in sports?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones are more interested in being good students, getting good grades?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones pay more attention to the kind of family a person comes from?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones are more likely to stir up a little excitement?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones are more interested in what is going on in the world?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones are more interested in church and religion?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones pay more attention to their and other people's reputation?	☐	☐	☐

- ☐ Get married and go to college
- ☐ Get married and get a job
- ☐ Get married and be a homemaker

11. If everything goes well, what kind of a job do you hope to have ten years from now? Write name or description of job. If you don't have any idea about this, write "Don't Know." For girls, if you want to be a housewife, put that down, and then say what kind of job you would like your husband to have.

12. Has there been any change in who is in the group of people you go around with?

- ☐ No, I'm still going with the same people. [GO ON TO QUESTION 13]
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How do your new friends differ from the old ones?	Old Friends	Newer Friends	Both the Same
Which ones are more interested in sports?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones are more interested in being good students, getting good grades?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones pay more attention to the kind of family a person comes from?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones are more likely to stir up a little excitement?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones are more interested in what is going on in the world?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones are more interested in church and religion?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones pay more attention to their and other people's reputation?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones are more likely to refuse to be pushed around?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones are more interested in being well regarded by the teachers?	☐	☐	☐
Which ones are more likely to take the lead in school activities?	☐	☐	☐

Sec. 2

13. How long have you been close to the people you consider your friends now? (CHECK AS MANY BOXES AS NECESSARY)

- ☐ Since elementary school or before
- ☐ Since junior high school
- ☐ Since we got started in high school
- ☐ Since a short time ago

14. How well would each of the things in the list below make a person fit in with your personal friends?

If a person was like this	He would fit very well	He would probably fit	It wouldn't make any difference	He might not fit	He would not fit at all
A leader in school activities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Socially smooth and poised	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A nice, friendly personality	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Knowing how to stir up a little excitement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A good dresser	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Active in church	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Well liked by the teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bright about practical things, even if not getting high grades	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Very high moral standards	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interested in doing new and different things	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Getting good grades	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Putting loyalty to friends ahead of teachers and school officials	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A well-to-do family	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interested in athletics	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Strongly opposed to smoking and drinking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sticking with others, even if teachers and school officials don't approve	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A leader in social activities outside school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Trying mostly to please parents, his own or others'	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Socially smooth and poised

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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A nice, friendly personality

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Knowing how to stir up a little excitement

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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A good dresser

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Active in church

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Well liked by the teachers

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Bright about practical things, even if not getting high grades

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Very high moral standards

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Interested in doing new and different things

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Getting good grades

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Putting loyalty to friends ahead of teachers and school officials

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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A well-to-do family

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Interested in athletics

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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Strongly opposed to smoking and drinking

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Sticking with others, even if teachers and school officials don't approve

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

A leader in social activities outside school

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Trying mostly to please parents, his own or others'

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Able to put up a good front, no matter what happens

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Able to keep quiet about private matters

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Sec. 2

15. How well do your parents (or guardians) know the parents of most of your friends?
(CHECK ONLY ONE BOX)

☐ They know nothing about each other

☐ They have met as neighbors or they go to the same church, etc.

☐ They know about each other, but they haven't met

☐ They get together socially

☐ They have met, but only at public affairs (PTA and other meetings)

16. How many different groups of friends do you have?

Sec. 1

- ☐ NONE (go on to Question 17)
☐ ONE group of friends (go on to Question 17)
☐ TWO groups of friends
☐ THREE or more groups of friends

In what ways are these groups different? (Mention interests, backgrounds, ideas of right and wrong.)

17. Several kinds of groups are shown on the left below. Check how many people in each of these agree with your own ideas (about right and wrong, about religion, about their place in the community, about public life, and so on.

	Most share my ideas	Quite a few share my ideas	Some share my ideas	Very few share my ideas	IF THERE IS NO GROUP LIKE THIS, CHECK THIS COLUMN ↓
My close friends					
People I work with on school activities					
People I work with on out-of-school activities					
People I have fun with ("hang out," "fool around," etc.)					
People I go to parties with					
People I date					
Other people (explain)					

18. The chart below compares all of these kinds of groups. In each space check whether the two groups are made up of the same, partly the same, or different people.

COMPARE this group with this group	My close friends	People I work with on school activities	People I work with on out-of-school activities	People I have fun with	People I go to parties with
---	---------------------	--	---	------------------------------	--------------------------------------

17. Several kinds of groups are shown on the left below. Check how many people in each of these agree with your own ideas (about right and wrong, about religion, about their place in the community, about public life, and so on.

	Most share my ideas	Quite a few share my ideas	Some share my ideas	Very few share my ideas	IF THERE IS NO GROUP LIKE THIS, CHECK THIS COLUMN ↓
My close friends					
People I work with on school activities					
People I work with on out-of-school activities					
People I have fun with ("hang out," "fool around," etc.)					
People I go to parties with					
People I date					
Other people (explain)					

Sec. 2

18. The chart below compares all of these kinds of groups. In each space check whether the two groups are made up of the same, partly the same, or different people.

COMPARE this group with this group	My close friends	People I work with on school activities	People I work with on out-of-school activities	People I have fun with	People I go to parties with
People I date	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different
People I go to parties with	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	
People I have fun with	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different		
People I work with on out-of-school activities	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different			
People I work with on school activities	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different				

19. How do your parents feel about your friends?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ [My parents approve of my friends
- ☐ [My parents accept most of my friends pretty well
- ☐ [My parents don't have any feelings about my friends, one way or the other
- ☐ [My parents are critical of some of my friends
- ☐ [My parents often object strongly to my friends

20. Which of the statements below expresses best how you and your friends feel about studying?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ [Studying is the most important thing you can do to get ahead in life
- ☐ [Studying helps, but other things are just as important to prepare yourself for life
- ☐ [Most of the things they make you study in school are of no use in life afterwards

21. Which one of the statements below expresses best what you and your friends feel about school activities outside of classes?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ [Most school activities help in developing school spirit and citizenship
- ☐ [School activities are sometimes interesting but they aren't very practical
- ☐ [School activities are mostly dull and a waste of time

22. If the people in some city in the United States took a strong stand against school integration (i.e., against having White and Negro students in the same school), what should the United States government do?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ [Force them to obey the federal law, using force if necessary
- ☐ [Have talks with those who are against integration, but make sure the people comply with the law
- ☐ [Have talks with those who are against integration and be willing to make things easier by allowing some delay
- ☐ [Leave it mostly up to the local people what they want to do about integration, but try to persuade them
- ☐ [Leave it entirely up to the local people to decide about integration

23. In the conflict between the United States and Russia, what should the United States do?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ [Strike the first blow, before the Russians get ahead of us
- ☐ [Be strong and ready to strike back if attacked
- ☐ [Have talks with the Russians, but stick firmly to our position
- ☐ [Have talks with the Russians and be prepared to make concessions in return for concessions they make
- ☐ [Have talks with the Russians and go as far as possible in order to avoid war

24. In your opinion, what is the main reason for the conflict between the United States and Russia?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ [Such conflicts are mostly due to misunderstandings -- all people want peace
- ☐ [Such conflicts are due to stubbornness on both sides -- neither is willing to make any concessions
- ☐ [Such conflicts are due mostly to fear on both sides
- ☐ [Such conflicts are due mostly to the Russians being jealous of our way of life
- ☐ [Such conflicts are due mostly to the Russians' insistence on making the whole world communistic

25. Suppose there was someone in your group of friends

- ☐ [Ignore it -- it's not important
- ☐ [Ignore it and let him find out for himself that he shouldn't

expresses best how
you and your friends feel
about studying?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Studying helps, but other things are just as important to prepare yourself for life
- ☐ Most of the things they make you study in school are of no use in life afterwards

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Sec. 2

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- ☐ Such conflicts are due mostly to fear on both sides
- ☐ Such conflicts are due mostly to the Russians being jealous of our way of life
- ☐ Such conflicts are due mostly to the Russians' insistence on making the whole world communistic

25. Suppose there was someone in your group of friends who talked too much about other people's business. What should the other people do?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Ignore it -- it's not important
- ☐ Ignore it and let him find out for himself that he shouldn't talk about other people's business
- ☐ Start leaving him out of things and not let him find out about such matters
- ☐ Talk to him about it and tell him that it hurts others
- ☐ Talk to him and then start leaving him out if he doesn't stop
- ☐ Tell him he has to quit it or other people won't go around with him any more

PART 2: Civic Education Questionnaire

- 1**
- a. Your name _____ b. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female
- c. What is your race? ☐ White ☐ Negro ☐ Other (explain) _____
- d. What grade are you in? (circle) 10 11 12
- e. _____
Junior High School Attended
- f. What is your grade average? (circle) A A-B B B-C C C-D D D-F F
- g. What do you expect to do after you get out of high school?
- ☐ get a job right away ☐ get married and go to college
- ☐ go into military service and get a job afterwards ☐ get married and get a job
- ☐ go into military service and make a career of it ☐ get married and be a homemaker
- ☐ go to college ☐ go to a trade or business school
- h. If everything goes well, what kind of job do you hope to have ten years from now? Write name or description of job. If you don't have any idea about this, write "Don't know." For girls: if you want to be a housewife, put that down, and then say what kind of a job you would like your husband to have.
-

2 IN MANY HIGH SCHOOLS, STUDENTS GO AROUND IN GROUPS OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE SIMILAR FAMILY BACKGROUNDS AND IDEAS. SOME PEOPLE THINK THIS IS GOOD, OTHERS THINK IT IS BAD.

Below are two sets of statements about this. Check each statement to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with it. [- = disagree; + = agree]

First set of statements
(-) (+)

IF YOU GO AROUND WITH STUDENTS WHO HAVE THE SAME BACKGROUND AND IDEAS AS YOURSELF . . .

: : : : :
: : : : :
: : : : :
: : : : :
: : : : :
: : : : :
: : : : :

...you'll avoid disagreements about what the group wants to do
...you'll take more pride in your groups of friends
...you'll miss out on knowing other interesting people
...you'll have a more united group
...you'll come to believe you and your friends are better than others
...you'll end up distrusting people who are different

Second set of statements
(-) (+)

IF YOU GO AROUND WITH STUDENTS WHO HAVE BACKGROUNDS AND IDEAS DIFFERENT FROM YOUR OWN . . .

: : : : :
: : : : :
: : : : :
: : : : :
: : : : :
: : : : :
: : : : :

...you might get too close to people with poor moral standards
...you won't be forced to be like everyone else in the group
...you are likely to run into trouble between students who are well off and those who are less well off
...you will be less narrow minded
...you might find yourself in the company of people with false and dangerous beliefs
...you'll learn how to make friends with many different people

3

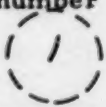
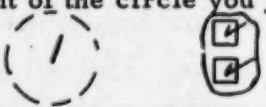
THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA HAVE HAD MANY BITTER CONFLICTS RECENTLY. WHAT, IN YOUR OPINION, ARE THE REASONS FOR THESE CONFLICTS?

Below are listed some of the reasons people give. They are listed in pairs. If you think the first statement in a pair is a true reason for the conflict between the United States and Russia, place a check mark in the square in front of it, like this ☒. If you think the second statement is a true reason, check that square the same way. If you think BOTH are true reasons, check both, like this ☒ ☒. If neither statement seems true to you, put a check mark in front of "NEITHER."

Give your own ideas--there are no right or wrong answers.

- 1) ☐ The United States feels she is better than Russia
☐ Russia feels she is better than the United States
☐ Neither
- 2) ☐ The United States disregards rules of right and wrong
☐ Russia disregards rules of right and wrong
☐ Neither
- 3) ☐ The United States is afraid of Russia
☐ Russia is afraid of the United States
☐ Neither
- 4) ☐ The United States wants to control the world
☐ Russia wants to control the world
☐ Neither
- 5) ☐ The United States doesn't understand Russia
☐ Russia doesn't understand the United States
☐ Neither
- 6) ☐ The United States puts her own interest ahead of the common good
☐ Russia puts her own interest ahead of the common good
☐ Neither
- 7) ☐ The United States feels that Russia is always wrong, whether it is true or not
☐ Russia feels that the United States is always wrong, whether it is true or not
☐ Neither
- 8) ☐ The United States acts according to her own beliefs
☐ Russia acts according to her own beliefs
☐ Neither
- 9) ☐ The United States feels that Russia can't be trusted
☐ Russia feels that the United States can't be trusted
☐ Neither
- 10) ☐ The United States refuses to give in on anything
☐ Russia refuses to give in on anything
☐ Neither

NOW look back over the statements you have just checked. Which do you feel is the most important reason for the conflict between the United States and Russia? Circle the square or squares in front of it. If you feel that only ONE of the two statements in a pair is the most important, be sure to circle only the box in front of it, like this  but if BOTH the statements in a pair seem the most important to you, draw a big circle around BOTH their boxes, like this 

Then put the number "1" in the ring in front of the circle you just drew, like this  or like this  or like this 

THEN do the same thing for the reason that you feel is the second most important, but this time be sure to put the number "2" in the ring in front of your circle.

NOW do this once more for what you feel is the third most important reason, and put the number "3" in the ring in front of it.

4 IN YOUR OPINION, HOW MUCH IS EACH OF THE COUNTRIES TO BLAME FOR THESE CONFLICTS? FOLLOWING THE INSTRUCTIONS BELOW, INDICATE HOW MUCH YOU THINK THE UNITED STATES IS TO BLAME, AND HOW MUCH YOU THINK RUSSIA IS TO BLAME.

Each of the bars below is divided into 9 squares, numbered from 1 to 9. There is one bar for each country. Number 1 indicates the least blame, and number 9 indicates the most. Fill in the number of squares for the United States or for Russia, or for both, to show how much you think they are to blame for the conflicts.

Start here ↓

Amount the United States is to blame →

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Amount Russia is to blame →

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

5 HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAVING TALKS WITH THE RUSSIANS?

Be sure to read all the answers first--then check the one that seems to you to make the most sense.

- 1) ☐ It will do no good to talk to the Russians
- 2) ☐ We should talk with the Russians only if they show they are ready to give in on important points
- 3) ☐ We should make an effort to reach an agreement with the Russians without changing our basic principles
- 4) ☐ We should be open-minded in talks with the Russians--exchange ideas with them, and agree on the ones that seem best
- 5) ☐ We should change our views whenever that is necessary to avoid a war

6

ABOUT HOW OFTEN
DO YOU READ A
NEWSPAPER?

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Rarely | ☐ Several times a week |
| ☐ Less than once a week | ☐ Every day |
| ☐ Once a week | |

7

HOW CAREFULLY DO YOU
READ THE NEWS OF
INTERNATIONAL AND
NATIONAL AFFAIRS?

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Don't read | ☐ Read some articles carefully,
glance at others |
| ☐ Just skim the headlines | ☐ Read it all very carefully |
| ☐ Glance through the articles | |

8

ABOUT HOW OFTEN DURING
THE WEEK DO YOU LISTEN
TO NEWS OR PUBLIC
AFFAIRS PROGRAMS ON
THE RADIO OR TV?

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Never | ☐ Several times a week |
| ☐ Less than once a week | ☐ At least once a day |
| ☐ Once a week or so | ☐ More than once a day |

9

HOW INTERESTED ARE
YOU IN POLITICS
AND WORLD AFFAIRS?

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Very interested | ☐ Not too interested |
| ☐ Fairly interested | ☐ Not interested at all |

10

HOW INTERESTED IN
POLITICS AND WORLD
AFFAIRS ARE YOU
COMPARED TO MOST OF
THE PEOPLE YOU KNOW?

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Much more interested | ☐ A little less interested |
| ☐ Slightly more interested | ☐ Much less interested |
| ☐ About the same amount of
interest | |

11

SOME PEOPLE LIKE TO
TALK OVER PROBLEMS OF
POLITICS AND WORLD
AFFAIRS WITH THEIR
PARENTS OR OTHER
FAMILY MEMBERS. HOW
OFTEN DO YOU DO THIS?

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| ☐ Never | ☐ Fairly often |
| ☐ Rarely | ☐ Very often |
| ☐ Sometimes | |

12

SOME PEOPLE LIKE TO
TALK OVER PROBLEMS OF
POLITICS AND WORLD
AFFAIRS WITH THEIR
FRIENDS. HOW OFTEN
DO YOU DO THIS?

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| ☐ Never | ☐ Fairly often |
| ☐ Rarely | ☐ Very often |
| ☐ Sometimes | |

13

SUPPOSE YOU WERE
GOING TO COLLEGE. HOW
INTERESTED WOULD YOU
BE IN TAKING A COURSE
ON POLITICS AND WORLD
AFFAIRS?

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Not interested at all | ☐ Pretty interested |
| ☐ Slightly interested | ☐ Very interested |

14

HOW DO YOU THINK
YOU WILL FEEL ABOUT
WORKING FOR A
POLITICAL PARTY WHEN
YOU ARE AN ADULT?

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Like to very much | ☐ Would rather not |
| ☐ Wouldn't mind | ☐ Definitely not interested |

15

DO YOU CONSIDER
YOURSELF . . .

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ A strong Democrat | ☐ A strong Republican |
| ☐ An average Democrat | ☐ An average Republican |
| ☐ An independent, but
leaning toward the
Democrats | ☐ An independent, but
leaning toward the
Republicans |
| ☐ An independent, not
leaning either way | |

16

HOW MUCH SCHOOLING
DOES YOUR FATHER
(OR STEPPFATHER, OR
GUARDIAN) HAVE?

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Elementary school | ☐ Some high school, but did
not graduate |
| ☐ High school graduate | ☐ Some high school & trade
or business school |
| ☐ Some college education | ☐ High school graduate &
trade or business school
training |
| ☐ College graduate | ☐ Post-graduate college
training |

17

HOW MUCH SCHOOLING
DOES YOUR MOTHER
(OR STEPMOTHER, OR
GUARDIAN) HAVE?

- | | |
|---|--|
| ☐ Elementary school | ☐ Some high school, but did
not graduate |
| ☐ High school graduate | ☐ Some high school & trade
or business school |
| ☐ Some college education | ☐ High school graduate & trade
or business school training |
| ☐ College graduate | ☐ Post-graduate college
training |

18

WHAT SCHOOL CLUBS OR
SCHOOL ACTIVITIES DO
YOU REGULARLY PARTI-
CIPATE IN? (WRITE
NAMES OF CLUBS OR
ACTIVITIES. IF YOU ARE
AN OFFICER, WRITE NAME
OF OFFICE.)

Name of club or activity:

Office you hold:

☐ NONE

19

WHAT CLUBS OR ACTIVI-
TIES DO YOU REGULARLY
PARTICIPATE IN OUTSIDE
OF SCHOOL?

Name of club or activity:

Office you hold:

☐ NONE

20 CONFLICTS BETWEEN YOUNG PEOPLE AND ADULTS ARE PERHAPS AS OLD AS THE WORLD, AND MOST OF US CAN THINK OF EXAMPLES OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND ADULTS HAVING SERIOUS DISAGREEMENTS OR QUARRELS. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT ARE THE REASONS FOR THESE CONFLICTS? (In answering this question, try to think about people you know or have heard about.)

Below are some of the reasons people give. They are again listed in pairs. Check them as you did before, putting your check mark in the first or the second or both squares, or in front of "NEITHER."

Give your own ideas. There are no right or wrong answers.

- 1) ☐ Adults act according to their own beliefs
☐ Young people act according to their own beliefs
☐ Neither
- 2) ☐ Adults feel that young people can't be trusted
☐ Young people feel that adults can't be trusted
☐ Neither
- 3) ☐ Adults feel they are better than young people
☐ Young people feel they are better than adults
☐ Neither
- 4) ☐ Adults don't understand young people
☐ Young people don't understand adults
☐ Neither
- 5) ☐ Adults refuse to give in on anything
☐ Young people refuse to give in on anything
☐ Neither
- 6) ☐ Adults disregard rules of right and wrong
☐ Young people disregard rules of right and wrong
☐ Neither
- 7) ☐ Adults feel young people are always wrong, whether it is true or not
☐ Young people feel adults are always wrong, whether it is true or not
☐ Neither
- 8) ☐ Adults put their own interest ahead of the common good
☐ Young people put their own interest ahead of the common good
☐ Neither
- 9) ☐ Adults are afraid of young people
☐ Young people are afraid of adults
☐ Neither
- 10) ☐ Adults want to control young people
☐ Young people want to control adults
☐ Neither

Now check the most important reason as you did before, circling the appropriate square or squares and then putting number "1" in the circle. Then do the same thing for the reasons that are second and third in importance by using numbers "2" and "3."

21

IN YOUR OPINION, HOW MUCH ARE ADULTS AND YOUNG PEOPLE TO BLAME FOR THESE CONFLICTS? AS YOU DID BEFORE, INDICATE BELOW HOW MUCH YOU THINK THE ADULTS ARE TO BLAME, AND HOW MUCH YOU THINK THE YOUNG PEOPLE ARE TO BLAME.

Start here



Amount adults are to blame



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Amount young people are to blame



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

22

WHAT DO YOU THINK YOUNG PEOPLE AND ADULTS SHOULD DO ABOUT THE CONFLICTS THAT ARISE BETWEEN THEM?

Adults

Young People

- 1) ☐ It will do adults no good to talk with young people
- 2) ☐ Adults should talk with young people only if the young people are willing to listen to reason
- 3) ☐ Adults should try to reach an agreement with young people, but without giving up on basic principles
- 4) ☐ Adults should be open-minded in talking with young people--exchange ideas with them and agree on the ones that seem best
- 5) ☐ Adults should change their views whenever there is danger of a real split in the family

- 1) ☐ It will do young people no good to talk with adults
- 2) ☐ Young people should talk with adults only if the adults are willing to listen to reason
- 3) ☐ Young people should try to reach an agreement with the adult, but without giving up on basic principles
- 4) ☐ Young people should be open-minded in talking with adults--exchange ideas with them and agree on the ones that seem best
- 5) ☐ Young people should change their views whenever there is danger of a real split in the family

23

DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?

Agree Disagree

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| ☐ | ☐ | People who don't believe in God should not be allowed to vote |
| ☐ | ☐ | People who don't believe in God should not be allowed to speak in public |
| ☐ | ☐ | People who don't believe in God should be put in jail |
| ☐ | ☐ | People who don't believe in God should not be allowed to teach social science and history |
| ☐ | ☐ | People who don't believe in God should not be allowed to teach anything, including mathematics and natural science |

BUSINESS AND LABOR HAVE SERIOUS CONFLICTS FROM TIME TO TIME. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT ARE THE REASONS FOR THESE CONFLICTS?

Below are some of the reasons people give. They are again listed in pairs. Check them as you did before, putting your check mark in the first or the second or both squares, or in front of "NEITHER."

Give your own ideas. There are no right or wrong answers.

- 1) ☐ Business refuses to give in on anything
☐ Labor refuses to give in on anything
☐ Neither
- 2) ☐ Business wants to control the country
☐ Labor wants to control the country
☐ Neither
- 3) ☐ Business is afraid of labor
☐ Labor is afraid of business
☐ Neither
- 4) ☐ Business doesn't understand labor
☐ Labor doesn't understand business
☐ Neither
- 5) ☐ Business feels it is better than labor
☐ Labor feels it is better than business
☐ Neither
- 6) ☐ Business feels that labor can't be trusted
☐ Labor feels that business can't be trusted
☐ Neither
- 7) ☐ Business puts its own interest ahead of the common good
☐ Labor puts its own interest ahead of the common good
☐ Neither
- 8) ☐ Business disregards rules of right and wrong
☐ Labor disregards rules of right and wrong
☐ Neither
- 9) ☐ Business feels that labor is always wrong, whether it is true or not
☐ Labor feels that business is always wrong, whether it is true or not
☐ Neither
- 10) ☐ Business acts according to its own beliefs
☐ Labor acts according to its own beliefs
☐ Neither

Now check the most important reason as you did before, circling the appropriate square or squares and then putting number "1" in the circle. Then do the same thing for the reasons that are second and third in importance by using the numbers "2" and "3."

25 IN YOUR OPINION, HOW MUCH ARE LABOR AND BUSINESS TO BLAME FOR THESE CONFLICTS? AS YOU DID BEFORE, INDICATE BELOW HOW MUCH YOU THINK LABOR IS TO BLAME, AND HOW MUCH YOU THINK BUSINESS IS TO BLAME.

Start here

Amount labor is to blame

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Amount business is to blame

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

26 SUPPOSE THE PEOPLE ON ONE SIDE, EITHER BUSINESS OR LABOR, ARE QUITE SURE THAT THEY ARE RIGHT. WHAT SHOULD THEY DO ABOUT TALKING TO THE OTHER SIDE -- THE SIDE THEY FEEL IS WRONG?

Be sure to read all the answers first--then check the one that seems best to you.

- 1) ☐ In a conflict between business and labor, it will not do any good for those who are right to talk to the other side
- 2) ☐ Those who are right should talk to the other side only if it shows it is ready to give in on important points
- 3) ☐ Those who are right should make an effort to reach an agreement with the other side, but without changing their basic principles
- 4) ☐ Those who are right should be open-minded in talks with the other side--exchange ideas with them and agree on the ones that seem best
- 5) ☐ Those who are right should change their views whenever it is necessary to prevent wide-scale unemployment and business collapse

27 THE UNITED STATES HAS LAWS THAT CONTROL IMMIGRATION INTO THIS COUNTRY. THESE LAWS MAKE IT EASIER FOR PEOPLE TO GET IN IF THEY COME FROM THE SAME COUNTRIES MOST OF OUR FAMILIES CAME FROM IN THE PAST. THE PURPOSE OF THE LAWS IS TO LET PEOPLE IN WHO ARE SIMILAR TO THE PEOPLE ALREADY LIVING HERE, AND TO KEEP OUT PEOPLE WHO ARE DIFFERENT.

There have been many arguments over whether these laws are good or bad. Some people think they should be kept as they are; others think they should be changed to allow people with different backgrounds to settle in this country.

Below are two sets of statements about these laws. Check each statement to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with it. [- = disagree; + = agree]

1st set of statements
(-) (+)

:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:

IF WE LET PEOPLE WHO ARE VERY MUCH LIKE OURSELVES INTO THIS COUNTRY:

...we'll avoid disagreements about what this nation ought to do

...we'll take more pride in our country

...we'll miss out on many interesting people becoming Americans

...we'll have a more united country

...we'll come to believe we are better than other people

...we'll end up distrusting people who are different

2nd set of statements
(-) (+)

:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:

IF WE LET PEOPLE WHO ARE DIFFERENT FROM OURSELVES INTO THIS COUNTRY:

...we might let in people with poor moral standards

...we won't all be forced to be very much alike

...we'll have trouble between richer and poorer people

...we'll be less narrow-minded

...we may let in people with false and dangerous beliefs

...we'll learn how to get along with many different kinds of people

28

IN SOME CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES THERE HAVE BEEN BITTER CONFLICTS OVER SCHOOL INTEGRATION--WHETHER WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN SHOULD GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT ARE THE REASONS FOR THESE CONFLICTS?

Below are some of the reasons people give. They are again listed in pairs. Check them as you did before, putting your check mark in the first or the second or both squares, or in front of "NEITHER."

Give your own ideas. There are no right or wrong answers.

- 1) ☐ The whites feel the Negroes can't be trusted
☐ The Negroes feel the whites can't be trusted
☐ Neither
- 2) ☐ The whites refuse to give in on anything
☐ The Negroes refuse to give in on anything
☐ Neither
- 3) ☐ The whites feel that the Negroes are always wrong, whether it is true or not
☐ The Negroes feel that the whites are always wrong, whether it is true or not
☐ Neither
- 4) ☐ The whites put their own interest ahead of the common good
☐ The Negroes put their own interest ahead of the common good
☐ Neither
- 5) ☐ The whites are afraid of the Negroes
☐ The Negroes are afraid of the whites
☐ Neither
- 6) ☐ The whites act according to their own beliefs
☐ The Negroes act according to their own beliefs
☐ Neither
- 7) ☐ The whites disregard rules of right and wrong
☐ The Negroes disregard rules of right and wrong
☐ Neither
- 8) ☐ The whites feel they are better than the Negroes
☐ The Negroes feel they are better than the whites
☐ Neither
- 9) ☐ The whites don't understand the Negroes
☐ The Negroes don't understand the whites
☐ Neither
- 10) ☐ The whites want to control the community
☐ The Negroes want to control the community
☐ Neither

Now check the most important reason as you did before, circling the appropriate square or squares and then putting number "1" in the circle. Then do the same thing for the reasons that are second and third in importance by using the numbers "2" and "3."

29 IN YOUR OPINION, HOW MUCH ARE THE WHITES AND HOW MUCH ARE THE NEGROES TO BLAME FOR THESE CONFLICTS? AS YOU DID BEFORE, INDICATE BELOW HOW MUCH YOU THINK EACH IS TO BLAME.

Start here



Amount whites are to blame ➡

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Amount Negroes are to blame ➡

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

30 SUPPOSE THE PEOPLE ON ONE SIDE, EITHER WHITES OR NEGROES, ARE QUITE SURE THAT THEY ARE RIGHT. WHAT SHOULD THEY DO ABOUT TALKING TO THE OTHER SIDE -- THE SIDE THEY FEEL IS WRONG?

Be sure to read all the answers first -- then check the one that seems best to you.

- 1) ☐ In a conflict between whites and Negroes, it will not do any good for those who are right to talk to the other side
- 2) ☐ Those who are right should talk to the other side only if it shows it is ready to give in on important points
- 3) ☐ Those who are right should make an effort to reach an agreement with the other side, but without changing their basic principles
- 4) ☐ Those who are right should be open-minded in talks with the other side -- exchange ideas with them and agree on the ones that seem best
- 5) ☐ Those who are right should change their views whenever it is necessary to avoid riots and bloodshed in the community

31 DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?

Agree Disagree

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| ☐ | ☐ | Communists should not be allowed to vote |
| ☐ | ☐ | Communists should not be allowed to speak in public |
| ☐ | ☐ | Communists should be put in jail |
| ☐ | ☐ | Communists should not be allowed to teach social science and history |
| ☐ | ☐ | Communists should not be allowed to teach anything, including mathematics and natural science |

Below are some of the reasons people give. They are again listed in pairs. Check them as you did before, putting your check mark in the first or the second or both squares, or in front of "NEITHER."

Give your own ideas. There are no right or wrong answers.

- 1) ☐ Democrats feel that Republicans are always wrong, whether it is true or not
☐ Republicans feel that Democrats are always wrong, whether it is true or not
☐ Neither
- 2) ☐ Democrats feel that they are better than Republicans
☐ Republicans feel that they are better than Democrats
☐ Neither
- 3) ☐ Democrats don't understand Republicans
☐ Republicans don't understand Democrats
☐ Neither
- 4) ☐ Democrats disregard rules of right and wrong
☐ Republicans disregard rules of right and wrong
☐ Neither
- 5) ☐ Democrats are afraid of Republicans
☐ Republicans are afraid of Democrats
☐ Neither
- 6) ☐ Democrats put their own interest ahead of the common good
☐ Republicans put their own interest ahead of the common good
☐ Neither
- 7) ☐ Democrats act according to their own beliefs
☐ Republicans act according to their own beliefs
☐ Neither
- 8) ☐ Democrats want to control the country
☐ Republicans want to control the country
☐ Neither
- 9) ☐ Democrats refuse to give in on anything
☐ Republicans refuse to give in on anything
☐ Neither
- 10) ☐ Democrats feel the Republicans can't be trusted
☐ Republicans feel the Democrats can't be trusted
☐ Neither

Now check the most important reason as you did before, circling the appropriate square or squares and then putting number "1" in the circle. Then do the same thing for the reasons that are second and third in importance by using the numbers "2" and "3."

33 IN YOUR OPINION, HOW MUCH IS EACH TO BLAME FOR THESE CONFLICTS? AS YOU DID BEFORE, INDICATE BELOW HOW MUCH YOU THINK THE DEMOCRATS ARE TO BLAME, AND HOW MUCH YOU THINK THE REPUBLICANS ARE TO BLAME.

Start here →

Amount Democrats are to blame →

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Amount Republicans are to blame →

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

34 SUPPOSE THE PEOPLE ON ONE SIDE, EITHER DEMOCRATS OR REPUBLICANS, ARE QUITE SURE THAT THEY ARE RIGHT. WHAT SHOULD THEY DO ABOUT TALKING TO THE OTHER SIDE -- THE SIDE THEY FEEL IS WRONG?

Be sure to read all the answers first -- then check the one that seems best to you.

- 1) ☐ In a conflict between Democrats or Republicans, it will not do any good for those who are right to talk to the other side
- 2) ☐ Those who are right should talk to the other side only if it shows it is ready to give in on important points
- 3) ☐ Those who are right should make an effort to reach an agreement with the other side, but without changing their basic principles
- 4) ☐ Those who are right should be open-minded in talks with the other side -- exchange ideas with them and agree on the ones that seem best
- 5) ☐ Those who are right should change their views whenever it seems that their fighting might hurt the country

35 DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?

Agree Disagree

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| ☐ | ☐ | People whose loyalty has been questioned should not be allowed to vote |
| ☐ | ☐ | People whose loyalty has been questioned should not be allowed to speak in public |
| ☐ | ☐ | People whose loyalty has been questioned should be put in jail |
| ☐ | ☐ | People whose loyalty has been questioned should not be allowed to teach social science and history |
| ☐ | ☐ | People whose loyalty has been questioned should not be allowed to teach anything, including mathematics and natural science |

36 FOR YOU AS A HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT, WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT?

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 2) | To be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for yourself |
| 3) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |
| 4) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |
| 5) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for yourself |
| 6) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |
| 7) | To stand up for yourself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |
| 8) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 9) | To be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |
| 10) | To stand up for yourself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |

37 AFTER YOU ARE OUT OF SCHOOL (OR COLLEGE) AND ON YOUR OWN, WHICH DO YOU THINK WILL BE MORE IMPORTANT?

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 2) | To be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for yourself |
| 3) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |
| 4) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |
| 5) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for yourself |
| 6) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |
| 7) | To stand up for yourself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |
| 8) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 9) | To be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |
| 10) | To stand up for yourself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |

38 FOR A LABOR LEADER, WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT?

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for yourself |
| 2) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |
| 3) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |
| 4) | To be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for yourself |
| 5) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 6) | To stand up for yourself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |
| 7) | be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |
| 8) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 9) | To stand up for yourself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |
| 10) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |

39 FOR A NATION, WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT?

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |
| 2) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |
| 3) | To be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for itself |
| 4) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 5) | To stand up for itself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |
| 6) | To be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |
| 7) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 8) | To stand up for itself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |
| 9) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |
| 10) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for itself |

40 FOR A NEGRO, WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT?

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |
| 2) | To stand up for yourself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |
| 3) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 4) | To be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |
| 5) | To stand up for yourself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |
| 6) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 7) | To be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for yourself |
| 8) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |
| 9) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |
| 10) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for yourself |

41 FOR A POLITICAL LEADER, WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT?

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 2) | To stand up for yourself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |
| 3) | To have an interesting life | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |
| 4) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for yourself |
| 5) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |
| 6) | To have good friends | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To be respected |
| 7) | To be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To stand up for yourself |
| 8) | To have power | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have good friends |
| 9) | To stand up for yourself | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have an interesting life |
| 10) | To be respected | ☐ | OR | ☐ | To have power |

Agree Disagree

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| ☐ | ☐ | People who don't believe in the sanctity of marriage should not be allowed to vote |
| ☐ | ☐ | People who don't believe in the sanctity of marriage should not be allowed to speak in public |
| ☐ | ☐ | People who don't believe in the sanctity of marriage should be put in jail |
| ☐ | ☐ | People who don't believe in the sanctity of marriage should not be allowed to teach social science and history |
| ☐ | ☐ | People who don't believe in the sanctity of marriage should not be allowed to teach anything, including mathematics and natural science |

PART ONE. CIVIC EDUCATION QUESTIONNAIRE

STEP ONE 1) Put your OWN NAME on the top line at the left [line 1]. Then, on the next lines [numbers 2 and so on] list the names of people you like best, or know best, or spend a lot of time with. Do not include any grown-ups in this list. It doesn't matter whether you list all boys, all girls, or some of each, or whether they are in this school (but be sure to check whether they are in this school or not in the boxes at the left of the numbered name-lines).

Use only as many lines as you need. YOU DO NOT HAVE TO USE ALL TWENTY LINES

- 2 ☐
- 3 ☐
- 4 ☐
- 5 ☐
- 6 ☐
- 7 ☐
- 8 ☐
- 9 ☐
- 10 ☐
- 11 ☐
- 12 ☐
- 13 ☐
- 14 ☐
- 15 ☐
- 16 ☐
- 17 ☐
- 18 ☐
- 19 ☐
- 20 ☐

STEP TWO

Which of the people you have listed do you regard as your closest friends? Please put a check mark in the boxes opposite the names of your closest friends.



When you have finished,
go on to STEP THREE

STEP THREE

AMONG THE PEOPLE YOU HAVE LISTED, THERE MAY BE SOME YOU SPEND TIME WITH IN A GROUP. YOU MAY GO AROUND TOGETHER, WORK TOGETHER, OR DO THINGS TOGETHER. THERE MAY BE ONE OR MORE SUCH GROUPS.

To the left are four boxes. EACH BOX IS FOR A SEPARATE GROUP. If you are in only one group, you will use Box A for this part. If you are in two groups, you will use Boxes A and B. If you are in three or four groups, you will need to use Box C and perhaps Box D as well.

NOW THINK OF THE PEOPLE IN THE GROUP YOU ARE CLOSEST TO. Next to each of their names there is a number. Circle those same numbers in Box A ONLY. (This way we will be able to know who are the members of the group you are closest to.) If you are not in any group, check here and go on to Part 2 of the questionnaire.

If there is a second group of people you do things together with, circle the numbers of the people who are in it, using Box B (some people, of course, may be in more than one of your groups - such people can be circled in more than one box).

If you are not in such a second group, check here and go on to Part 2 of the questionnaire.

Then, if there are third or fourth groups, use Boxes C and D as you need them.

If you are not in a third or fourth group, check here and go on to Part 2 of the questionnaire.

If you have circled numbers in any of the boxes, go on to STEP FOUR

STEP FOUR You will see that these questions are about all four groups. If you are not in all four groups, answer only the questions that apply to the groups you are in.

A. HOW MUCH DOES GROUP A LIKE THE FOLLOWING THINGS?

- 1) dancing and parties
- 2) athletics and sports
- 3) serious discussions
- 4) hobbies
- 5) religious activities
- 6) just spending time together
- 7) something else (what?) _____

More than any-thing else	Very much	Some-what	Can take it or leave it	Dislike it
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B. HOW MUCH DOES GROUP B LIKE THE FOLLOWING THINGS?

- 1) dancing and parties
- 2) athletics and sports
- 3) serious discussions
- 4) hobbies
- 5) religious activities
- 6) just spending time together
- 7) something else (what?) _____

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C. HOW MUCH DOES GROUP C LIKE THE FOLLOWING THINGS?

- 1) dancing and parties
- 2) athletics and sports
- 3) serious discussions
- 4) hobbies
- 5) religious activities
- 6) just spending time together
- 7) something else (what?) _____

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D. HOW MUCH DOES GROUP D LIKE THE FOLLOWING THINGS?

- 1) dancing and parties
- 2) athletics and sports
- 3) serious discussions
- 4) hobbies
- 5) religious activities
- 6) just spending time together
- 7) something else (what?) _____

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

When you have finished, go on to STEP FIVE

STEP FIVE

A. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT
TO GROUP A THAT THE
FOLLOWING RULES ARE
OBSERVED?

	Extremely important	Very important	Fairly important	Doesn't matter much one way or the other	Not important at all
1) . Rules about behavior in school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2) Rules against smoking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3) Rules against drinking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4) Rules about respecting grownups	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5) . Rules about behavior in public	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6) Rules about morals	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT
TO GROUP B THAT THE
FOLLOWING RULES ARE
OBSERVED?

1) . Rules about behavior in school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2) Rules against smoking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3) Rules against drinking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4) Rules about respecting grownups	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5) . Rules about behavior in public	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6) Rules about morals	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT
TO GROUP C THAT THE
FOLLOWING RULES ARE
OBSERVED?

1) . Rules about behavior in school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2) Rules against smoking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3) Rules against drinking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4) Rules about respecting grownups	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5) . Rules about behavior in public	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6) Rules about morals	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT
TO GROUP D THAT THE
FOLLOWING RULES ARE
OBSERVED?

1) . Rules about behavior in school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2) Rules against smoking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3) Rules against drinking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4) Rules about respecting grownups	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5) . Rules about behavior in public	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6) Rules about morals	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

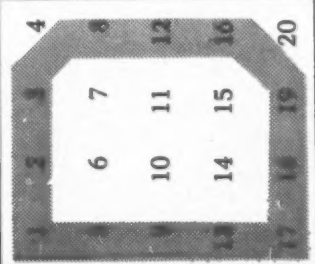
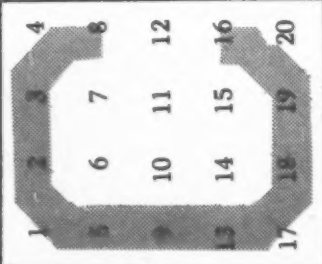
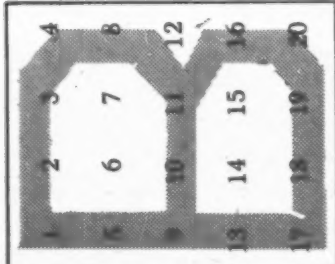
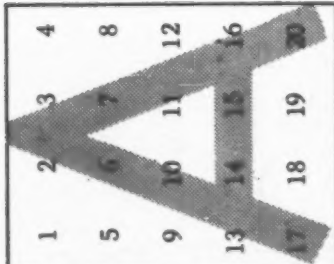
When you have finished,
go on to **STEP SIX**.

DO ONE STEP AT A TIME

PLEASE PRINT. USE PROPER NAMES, NOT NICKNAMES

Is the person in this school?	yes	no	1	your name
☐	☐	☐	2	
☐	☐	☐	3	
☐	☐	☐	4	
☐	☐	☐	5	
☐	☐	☐	6	
☐	☐	☐	7	
☐	☐	☐	8	
☐	☐	☐	9	
☐	☐	☐	10	
☐	☐	☐	11	
☐	☐	☐	12	
☐	☐	☐	13	
☐	☐	☐	14	
☐	☐	☐	15	
☐	☐	☐	16	
☐	☐	☐	17	
☐	☐	☐	18	
☐	☐	☐	19	
☐	☐	☐	20	

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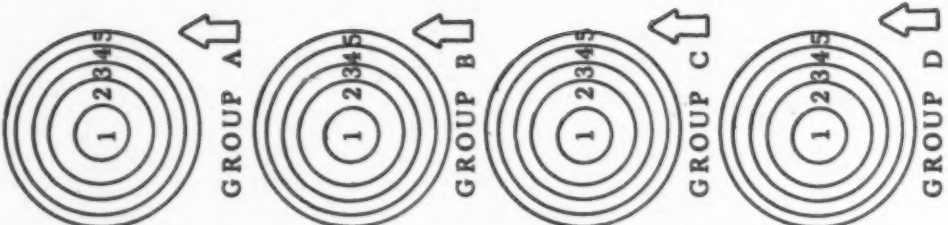
STEP SIX

A. Imagine that the most popular group in your school is at the center of this circle. How far from the center does that put your GROUP A? Put a check mark where you think Group A is. (If your group is NOT in this school, put a big X across the whole circle.)

B. Imagine that the most popular group in your school is at the center of this circle. How far from the center does that put your GROUP B? Put a check mark where you think Group B is. (If your group is NOT in this school, put a big X across the whole circle.)

C. Imagine that the most popular group in your school is at the center of this circle. How far from the center does that put your GROUP C? Put a check mark where you think Group C is. (If your group is NOT in this school, put a big X across the whole circle.)

D. Imagine that the most popular group in your school is at the center of this circle. How far from the center does that put your GROUP D? Put a check mark where you think Group D is. (If your group is NOT in this school, put a big X across the whole circle.)



STEP SEVEN

HOW SERIOUS IS THIS GROUP ABOUT STUDIES?	Extremely serious	Pretty serious	Not very serious	Not at all serious
GROUP A	☐	☐	☐	☐
GROUP B	☐	☐	☐	☐
GROUP C	☐	☐	☐	☐
GROUP D	☐	☐	☐	☐

When you have finished, go on to Part 2 of the questionnaire

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Interview Number _____

Bureau of Social and Political Research

CIVIC EDUCATION STUDY

Face Sheet

Name of Parent
or Guardian

Mr. _____
Mrs. _____

Name of Child _____

Address _____

Appointment time _____

Day

Hour

Appointment made by _____

Form _____

Contact History

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Not at home</u>	<u>Appointment</u>	<u>Inter- view</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1st call						
2nd call						
3rd call						
4th call						

Interview time: _____

Interviewer: _____

Remarks: _____

12-18-61

1. Many times in the past young people and the older generation have disagreed about a variety of questions. Do you feel that there are important differences between young people and adults in the way they look at things nowadays, or aren't there many differences in points of view between older and younger people these days?

☐ Many differences ☐ Few differences ☐ No differences ☐ Don't know

1.a. What do you think are the main differences in points of view between young people and adults these days?

1.b. Do you think that differences in views between young people and adults are a good thing or a bad thing?

☐ Good thing
☐ Sometimes good, sometimes bad
☐ Bad thing
☐ Can't tell

1.c. Could you tell me more about this?

ASK ONLY IF IT HASN'T ALREADY COME UP

1.d. Do you think it's a healthy thing for young people to have different ideas from their parents, or not?

☐ Healthy
☐ Sometimes healthy, sometimes not
☐ Not healthy
☐ Can't tell

1.e. How do you mean?

1. Many times in the past young people and the older generation have disagreed about a variety of questions. Do you feel that there are important differences between young people and adults in the way they look at things nowadays, or aren't there many differences in points of view between older and younger people these days?

☐ Many differences ☐ Few differences ☐ No differences ☐ Don't know

1.a. What do you think are the main differences in points of view between young people and adults these days?

1.b. Do you think that differences in views between young people and adults are a good thing or a bad thing?

☐ Good thing
☐ Sometimes good, sometimes bad
☐ Bad thing
☐ Can't tell

1.c. Could you tell me more about this?

ASK ONLY IF IT HASN'T ALREADY COME UP

1.d. Do you think it's a healthy thing for young people to have different ideas from their parents, or not?

☐ Healthy
☐ Sometimes healthy, sometimes not
☐ Not healthy
☐ Can't tell

1.e. How do you mean?

2.

2.a. How would you compare _____'s childhood with your own?
Was it easier or harder?
☐ Easier ☐ Harder ☐ No Comparison

2.b. Why?

2.c. What would you say is the biggest problem _____ faces?

2.d. Looking back, how much difficulty did you have with _____ as a child?
☐ A lot ☐ Some ☐ Little ☐ None

2.e. What success would you say you have had in bringing _____ up?
☐ A lot ☐ Some ☐ Little ☐ None

2.f. Which (if any) of his two parents does _____ like best?
☐ Father ☐ Mother

	Very Often	Often	Some- times	Rarely
2.g. How often do you and _____ talk about the following things?				
a. Other students at school	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. People in your neighbourhood	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. Sports	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. World affairs	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. School work and grades	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. School activities	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. Personal problems	☐	☐	☐	☐
h. Popular music and singers	☐	☐	☐	☐
i. Cars	☐	☐	☐	☐
j. Clothes (fashions)	☐	☐	☐	☐
k. Politics	☐	☐	☐	☐
l. Dates and dating	☐	☐	☐	☐
m. Teachers at school	☐	☐	☐	☐
n. Others	☐	☐	☐	☐

3.

3.a. Do you like _____'s group of friends?

☐ Like
☐ Like some but not others
☐ Neither like nor dislike
☐ Don't like
☐ Can't tell

3.b. Why?

3.c. Is there any group at school that you would NOT like _____ to go around with?

☐ Yes ☐ No

3.d. Which?

3.e. Why?

4. I have here a list of statements about the way children act. After each statement I read, will you please tell me whether this fits _____ very much, somewhat, not much, or not at all?

	Very much	Some-what	Not much	Not at all
Following orders without questioning	☐	☐	☐	☐
Making your own decisions instead of following orders	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being reasonable and easygoing about rules of good conduct	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sticking strictly to rules of good conduct	☐	☐	☐	☐
Striving hard to get ahead	☐	☐	☐	☐
Doing your work without worrying about how other people judge you	☐	☐	☐	☐
Doing your own share, pulling your own weight	☐	☐	☐	☐
Doing your work without worrying about how much others are doing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having an open mind on many points of view	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sticking to your own beliefs	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being careful not to cause embarrassment	☐	☐	☐	☐
Saying what needs to be said, even if it is embarrassing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Saying what you think, even if it seems impolite	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being polite and considerate	☐	☐	☐	☐
Showing initiative and trying to take the lead	☐	☐	☐	☐
Not trying to run things if it isn't your business	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. In most families young people sometimes have disagreements with their parents. How often does this happen in your family?

☐ Very often

☐ Often

☐ Sometimes

☐ Rarely

☐ Very rarely

6.a. What are the main disagreements that come up between you and _____?

(Probe for disagreements involving both and/or each parent)

6.b. I have here a list of problems that sometimes come up between parents and young people. We've found that in most families at least some, if not all of them, come up. Can you tell me which of the following come up between you and _____?

Often Sometimes Never

6.c. Parents sometimes feel that young don't do their share of work around the house. Does this ever happen with you and _____?

☐
☐
☐

6.d. Now let's consider obedience. Some parents feel that young people fail to do as they are told. Does this ever happen with you and _____?

☐
☐
☐

6.e. Let's consider right and wrong. Some parents feel that young people don't always do what is right, or good. Do you ever have this problem with _____?

☐
☐
☐

6.f. Now let's turn to the problem of getting ahead. Some parents want their children to make headway in school and in life later on and feel that they must push their children in order to get them to make the necessary effort. Does this ever happen with you and _____?

☐
☐
☐

6.g. Now about beliefs and ideas such as religion, opinions about politics, etc. Some parents object if their children take up ideas that are different from their own. Do you ever have to object to _____'s beliefs or ideas?

☐
☐
☐

6.h. Sometimes parents feel that children are doing or saying things that are embarrassing the family, or that might give it a bad name. Do you ever have this problem with _____?

☐
☐
☐

6.i. Then there is the problem of getting along with people. Some parents feel that their children are not polite and considerate enough toward others. Do you ever have this problem with _____?

☐
☐
☐

6.j. Finally, some parents feel that their children are trying to have too much of a say in the home. Does this ever happen with _____?

☐
☐
☐

7. With respect to _____'s future:

7.a. Do you think you want him to have a job where he would meet people quite a bit, or wouldn't you want him to have such a job?

- ☐ Meet
☐ Wouldn't meet
☐ Don't know

7.b. How about income? Do you think you want him to have the kind of work that would give him a very good living, or just enough for his needs?

- ☐ Very good
☐ Just enough
☐ Doesn't matter
☐ Don't know

7.c. Will you want him to have the kind of work he could get really good at, or wouldn't it be very important to you how good he got?

- ☐ Really good
☐ Fairly good
☐ Doesn't matter
☐ Can't tell

7.d. Would you like him to have work in which there is a lot of competition to get ahead, or not much competition?

- ☐ Quite a lot
☐ Some
☐ Not much
☐ Don't know

7.e. How about security? Do you think you would like him to have the kind of work where there was no need to worry about steady work and a steady income, or wouldn't you mind his having to worry about this?

- ☐ Wouldn't want to worry
☐ Wouldn't mind having to worry
☐ Don't know

7.f. Would you like him to be interested in the kind of work where he'd be pretty independent, or would you like him to work under other people's supervision?

- ☐ Pretty independent
☐ Under supervision
☐ Can't tell

7.g. Do you want him to have the kind of work that will make people look up to him, or doesn't it matter?

- ☐ Yes
☐ Doesn't matter
☐ Can't tell

7.h. Would you like him to get interested in the kind of work that calls for a lot of schooling or training, or would you want him to start earning a regular income right away?

- ☐ Schooling or training
☐ Income right away
☐ Don't know

7.i. Do you think you would be willing for him to get along on very little money for awhile in order to get into the work he want, or do you think this would be hard for him to do?

- ☐ Willing to wait
☐ Hard to do
☐ Don't know

7.j. Has _____ talked with you about his future?

☐ Yes

7.k. What have you talked about?

☐ No

7.l. Is there any reason for this?

7.

8. Suppose _____ were asked to participate in some activity which interested him, but you felt was not good for him and you told him so. What would he be most likely to do? Would he	☐ Accept your judgment ☐ Try and talk you into agreeing to it ☐ Try to figure out whether you or his friends are right
--	--

9. If _____ had to make some important decision which of the following things would he be most likely to do?	☐ Try to figure out whether he should accept your opinion ☐ Try to reach a decision according to his own understanding of the matter ☐ See what other students are doing under similar circumstances
---	--

10. If _____ decided on a path of action which you felt was not in his best interests would you permit him to go ahead?	
☐ Yes ☐ No	☐ Depends
10.a. Why?	10.b. On what?

11. If it ever came to it, do you think _____ would abide by your decision, or would he go ahead on his own?		
☐ Abide	☐ His own	☐ Depends

11.a. Comments:

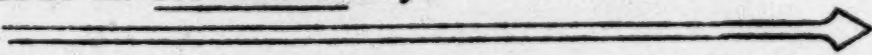
32 a. If there is a strike in a factory, what in your opinion are most frequently the reasons?

	Frequently	Sometimes	Hardly ever
Labor and management are fighting over the amount of money each should get	☐	☐	☐
Each is trying to prove that they can beat the other	☐	☐	☐
The workers are trying to show that they are just as good as the management	☐	☐	☐
Management is trying to show that they are superior to labor	☐	☐	☐
They are fighting over who should have control in the plant	☐	☐	☐
They have different basic principles about what is right and wrong	☐	☐	☐
Both are stubborn and don't want to change it in any way	☐	☐	☐
Each is afraid that giving in a little will give the other side the upper hand	☐	☐	☐

33 a. There are several ways in which conflicts between labor and management can end. How often do you think labor disputes end in the following ways?

	Frequently	Sometimes	Hardly ever
A. One side convinces the other that it is in the right.	☐	☐	☐
B. A strike or lock-out forces one of them to give in.	☐	☐	☐
C. Both of them realize that it might be less costly to give in a little than to have a strike	☐	☐	☐
D. The government makes them stop	☐	☐	☐
E. There is a strike, and both suffer heavy losses in wages and profits	☐	☐	☐
F. Both of them realize that the conflict was based on misunderstandings	☐	☐	☐
G. Both call upon an arbitrator to settle the issue	☐	☐	☐
H. Both work out a plan which will work for their mutual advantage	☐	☐	☐

34 a. What do you think is the best way for a labor dispute to end? Write down the letter of one of the statements above in this box. 

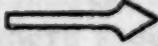
What do you think would be the second best way? Write that letter in this box. 

37 a. If there is a conflict between two nations, what do you think are most frequently the reasons?

	Very frequent	Sometimes	Hardly ever
They are fighting over who is to have the greater share of the world's wealth.	☐	☐	☐
Each nation is trying to prove that it can beat the other.	☐	☐	☐
Each nation is trying to prove it is superior to the other.	☐	☐	☐
Each nation is trying to get control over world affairs.	☐	☐	☐
The two nations have different basic principles about right and wrong.	☐	☐	☐
They do not understand each other.	☐	☐	☐
Both nations are stubborn and don't want to change their positions in any way.	☐	☐	☐
Each nations is afraid that giving in a little will give the other nation the upper hand.	☐	☐	☐

38a. There are several ways in which disputes between nations can end. How often do you think such conflicts end in the following ways?

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely
A. There is a war, and one side beats the other.	☐	☐	☐
B. One nation convinces the other that is right.	☐	☐	☐
C. Both sides realize that it is less costly to make some concessions than to have a war.	☐	☐	☐
D. A third country stops the dispute.	☐	☐	☐
E. There is a war, and both sides end up completely ruined.	☐	☐	☐
F. Both sides realize that their differences were mostly based on misunderstandings.	☐	☐	☐
G. Both sides call upon the U.N. to settle the issue.	☐	☐	☐
H. The two sides get together and solve the dispute to their mutual advantage.	☐	☐	☐

39 a. What do you think is the best way for a dispute between nations to end? Write down the letter of one of the statements above in this box.  ☐

What do you think would be the second best way? Write that letter in this box. ☐

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

☐ All people who want to come to this country should be allowed in.

40. The United States has laws about immigration into this country. In general, these laws make it easier for people to get in who are most like those already living in this country. What do you think are the advantages of these laws?

Letting into this country people who are mostly similar to us

- ...avoids fights between people of different national origin
- ...makes it easier to decide on national policy
- ...helps to maintain the reputation of the country and of the people in it
- ...helps to keep out people who wouldn't fit
- ...helps to maintain the unity of the country
- ...keeps out people who would lower the standard of living
- ...keeps out people with poor moral standards
- ...makes people more proud of themselves and of their country

Big advantage Small advantage No advantage

☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐

40b. In your opinion, what are the disadvantages of these laws?

Letting into this country people who are mostly similar to us

- ...cuts down on the chance of having healthy discussions on public matters
- ...makes some people think they are superior to others
- ...deprives people of the chance to broaden their views by making friends with people of different backgrounds
- ...makes it harder for anyone to be different
- ...makes people distrust others of different backgrounds
- ...makes life boring
- ...makes people dislike or even hate those who are different
- ...makes people narrow-minded in their beliefs

Big dis-advantage Small dis-advantage No dis-advantage

☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐

40c. In your opinion, should we continue to make it easy only for people who are similar to us to immigrate?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Yes, this is the best thing to do.
- ☐ More people of different backgrounds should be allowed in, but there should be some restrictions.
- ☐ All people should be allowed in, provided they prove they can take care of themselves.
- ☐ All people who want to come to this country should be allowed in.

41. How often do you watch news programs and reports on public affairs on TV? CHECK ONLY ONE BOX	☐ Never ☐ Less than once a week ☐ About once a week ☐ Once every four to six days ☐ Once every two to three days ☐ Once a day ☐ More than once a day						
42. How often do you read news stories and articles on public affairs in a daily newspaper? CHECK ONLY ONE BOX	☐ Never ☐ Less than once a week ☐ About once a week ☐ Once every two or three weeks ☐ Once every four to six days ☐ Once a day ☐ More than once a day						
43. How often do you listen to news programs on the radio? CHECK ONLY ONE BOX	☐ Never ☐ Less than once a week ☐ About once a week ☐ Once every four to six days ☐ Once every two to three days ☐ Once a day ☐ More than once a day						
44. How often do you read articles on public affairs in weekly papers or magazines? CHECK ONLY ONE BOX	☐ Never ☐ Less than once a month ☐ About once a month ☐ Once every two to three weeks ☐ Once a week ☐ More than once a week						
45. How often do you talk about politics and world affairs with your friends? CHECK ONLY ONE BOX	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>☐ Never</td> <td>☐ Sometimes</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐ Very rarely</td> <td>☐ Often</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐ Rarely</td> <td>☐ Very often</td> </tr> </table>	☐ Never	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very rarely	☐ Often	☐ Rarely	☐ Very often
☐ Never	☐ Sometimes						
☐ Very rarely	☐ Often						
☐ Rarely	☐ Very often						
46. How often do you talk about politics and world affairs with ...? CHECK ONLY ONE BOX	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>☐ Never</td> <td>☐ Sometimes</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐ Very rarely</td> <td>☐ Often</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐ Rarely</td> <td>☐ Very Often</td> </tr> </table>	☐ Never	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very rarely	☐ Often	☐ Rarely	☐ Very Often
☐ Never	☐ Sometimes						
☐ Very rarely	☐ Often						
☐ Rarely	☐ Very Often						

47. Would you say _____ is as interested in politics as you would like him (her) to be or not as interested?	☐ More ☐ As interested ☐ Not as interested ☐ Don't know
47.a. How interested do you want him (her) to be?	☐ Very much ☐ Somewhat ☐ Not at all
48. Are you more interested in politics and world affairs as most people you know, less interested, or what?	☐ Less ☐ Same ☐ More
49. All in all, what do you think the future looks like for young people nowadays?	
49.a. Do you think there will be good times ahead, or bad times? ☐ Good times ☐ Bad times ☐ Both ☐ Can't tell	
49.b. Do you think there will be plenty of chances for _____ to do the kind of work he (she) would like, or not? ☐ Plenty of chances ☐ Not many chances ☐ No chances ☐ Can't tell	
49.c. Do you often wonder about this, or not very often? ☐ Very often ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Rarely ☐ Never	
49.d. How do you feel about it?	

13.

50. How about the relations between this country and other countries? Do you think they are going to get better or worse?

- ☐ Better
- ☐ Worse
- ☐ Better and worse
- ☐ Can't tell

50.a. How likely do you think it is that we might have another war?

- ☐ Very likely
- ☐ Likely
- ☐ Toss-up
- ☐ Unlikely
- ☐ Impossible

50.b. Do you often wonder about this, or not very often?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

50.c. How do you feel about it?

50.d. If there were another war, what do you think the effect would be?

Now, to finish the interview, we have a few questions about yourself.

51. What is your religious preference ? _____

(IF PROTESTANT) What particular kind? _____

52. Who is the main breadwinner in your family?

☐ Father ☐ Mother ☐ Other (explain) _____

53. What is the occupation of the main breadwinner in your family?

53.a. What kind of business does he [she] work in? _____

53.b. Does he [she] work for someone else?

☐ works for self ☐ works for an employer

54. How much schooling do you have?

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Elementary school | ☐ High school graduate and trade or business school training |
| ☐ Some high school, but did not graduate | ☐ Some college education |
| ☐ Some high school and trade or business school | ☐ College graduate |
| ☐ High school graduate | ☐ Post-graduate college training |

55. How much schooling does your husband [wife] have?

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Elementary school | ☐ High school graduate and trade or business school training |
| ☐ Some high school, but did not graduate | ☐ Some college education |
| ☐ Some high school and trade or business school | ☐ College graduate |
| ☐ High school graduate | ☐ Post-graduate college training |

15.

56. Do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, or what?

☐

Democrat

☐

Republican

☐

Independent

☐

Don't know

56.a. Would you say you are a strong Democrat (or Republican) or an average Democrat (or Republican)?

☐

Strong

☐

Average

IF "INDEPENDENT"
IN QUESTION 56

56.b. Would you say you lean toward the Democrats or toward the Republicans?

☐

Democrats

☐

Republicans

☐

Don't lean

57. Approximately, what is the family income per year? (READ BRACKETS BELOW)

☐

Below \$2,500

☐

\$2,500-\$4,900

☐

\$5,000-\$7,400

☐

\$7,500-\$10,000

☐

Over \$10,000

1. Many times in the past young people and the older generation have disagreed about a variety of questions. Do you feel that there are important differences between young people and adults in the way they look at things nowadays, or aren't there many differences in points of view between older and younger people these days?

Interview # _____

☐ Many differences

☐ Few differences

☐ No differences

☐ Don't know

Civic Education Study

1.a. What do you think are the main differences in points of view between young people and adults these days?

Face Sheet

Respondent's name _____

Male

Female

1.b. Do you think that differences in views between young people and adults are a good thing or a bad thing?

Stratum: _____

☐ Good thing

☐ Sometimes good, sometimes bad

☐ Bad thing

☐ Can't tell

1.c. Could you tell us more about this?

Date: _____

Time: _____

Letter sent to (insert name): _____

ASK ONLY IF IT HASN'T ALREADY COME UP

1.d. Relationship to R: _____
people to have different ideas from their

☐ Healthy

☐ Sometimes healthy, sometimes not

Remarks: _____

☐ Not healthy

☐ Can't tell

1.e. How do you make?

12/15/1961

1. Many times in the past young people and the older generation have disagreed about a variety of questions. Do you feel that there are important differences between young people and adults in the way they look at things nowadays, or aren't there many differences in points of view between older and younger people these days?

☐ Many differences

☐ Few differences

☐ No differences

☐ Don't know

1.a. What do you think are the main differences in points of view between young people and adults these days?

1.b. Do you think that differences in views between young people and adults are a good thing or a bad thing?

☐ Good thing

☐ Sometimes good, sometimes bad

☐ Bad thing

☐ Can't tell

1.c. Could you tell me more about this?

ASK ONLY IF IT HASN'T ALREADY COME UP

1.d. Do you think it's a healthy thing for young people to have different ideas from their parents, or not?

☐ Healthy

☐ Sometimes healthy, sometimes not

☐ Not healthy

☐ Can't tell

1.e. How do you mean?

2. How about in school? Do you think students often have their own ideas about how things should be done here in school, or do they go along pretty much with the ideas of the teachers and the school administration?

☐ Own ideas

☐ Teacher's ideas

☐ Both

☐ Can't tell

2.a. Does this happen very often, or just once in awhile?

☐ Very often

☐ Often

☐ Once in awhile

TO
Question
Number 3

2.b. What are the main things here in school that students and teachers have different views on?

2.c. What about yourself? Do you yourself sometimes disagree with teachers and the school administration on how things should be done?

☐ Yes

☐ No

2.d. What about?

3. Teachers sometimes criticize students for the way they act. I have here a list of problems that occasionally come up in school. Would you please tell me which of these situations you have been in yourself?

[READ BACK TO B THE PROBLEMS HE HAS MENTIONED, AND WRITE THE QUESTION-LETTERS OF THE PROBLEMS HE CONSIDERS MOST IMPORTANT IN THE BLANKS BELOW]

Here is the first one:

- | | Happens | Doesn't happen |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 3.a. Teachers sometimes feel that a student isn't doing his share to keep things orderly or that he isn't pulling his own weight on some project. Does this ever happen to you? | ☐ | ☐ |
| 3.b. How about obedience? Teachers sometimes feel that students fail to do what they have been told. Does this ever happen to you? | ☐ | ☐ |
| 3.c. How about problems of right and wrong? Teachers sometimes feel that students don't always do what is good and right. Have you ever had that kind of problem? | ☐ | ☐ |
| 3.d. Then there is the problem of getting ahead. Teachers sometimes feel that students are not doing all they can to get ahead in their school work. Does this ever happen to you? | ☐ | ☐ |
| 3.e. How about important beliefs and ideas? Some teachers are annoyed if students have ideas different from their own. Does this ever happen to you? | ☐ | ☐ |
| 3.f. Sometimes teachers feel that students are doing or saying things that might embarrass the school, or give it a bad name. Do you ever have this experience? | ☐ | ☐ |
| 3.g. Then there is the problem of getting along with other people. Teachers sometimes feel that students aren't polite and considerate enough of other people. Do you ever have that problem? | ☐ | ☐ |
| 3.h. How about the way the school is run? Teachers sometimes feel that students want to have too much of a say in how the school and school activities are run. Have you ever been in this kind of situation? | ☐ | ☐ |
| 3.i. Are there any other problems like these that have happened to you? If so, what are they? | ☐ | ☐ |

IF R HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN THREE PROBLEMS UNDER QUESTIONS 3.a.-3.i.

- 3.j. Now, of the problems you have mentioned, which three do you think are the most important?

[READ BACK TO R THE PROBLEMS HE HAS MENTIONED, AND WRITE THE QUESTION-LETTERS OF THE PROBLEMS HE CONSIDERS MOST IMPORTANT IN THE BLANKS BELOW]

ASK QUESTIONS 4 THROUGH 6.a. ONLY IF ANY PROBLEMS WERE MENTIONED IN QUESTION 3. DO NOT ASK ABOUT MORE THAN THREE OF THE ONES MENTIONED.

4. Let's take the problem of _____ first.

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of preceding page.

4.a. How do you feel about it?

4.b. What do you do about it?

4.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?

☐ Yes

☐ No

4.d. What is it?

4.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?

☐ Yes

☐ No

4.f. What is it?

ASK QUESTIONS 4 THROUGH 6.a. ONLY IF ANY PROBLEMS WERE MENTIONED IN QUESTION 3. DO NOT ASK ABOUT MORE THAN THREE OF THE ONES MENTIONED.

5. Let's take the problem _____ second.

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of preceding page.

5.a. How do you feel about it?

5.b. What do you do about it?

5.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?

☐ Yes

☐ No

5.d. What is it?

5.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?

☐ Yes

☐ No

5.f. What is it?

ASK QUESTIONS 4 THROUGH 6.a. ONLY IF ANY PROBLEMS WERE MENTIONED IN QUESTION 3. DO NOT ASK ABOUT MORE THAN THREE OF THE ONES MENTIONED.

6. Let's take the problem _____ third.

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of preceding page.

6.a. How do you feel about it?

6.b. What do you do about it?

6.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?

☐ Yes ☐ No

6.d. What is it?

6.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?

☐ Yes ☐ No

6.f. What is it?

7. If a student has some idea how things might be done better here in school, do you think he has a pretty good chance of making people pay attention to his idea, or not much of a chance?

☐ Good chance

☐ Some chance

☐ No chance

☐ Don't know

7.a. How would a student go about making people pay attention to his ideas?

7.b. Is there a pretty good chance that his idea will actually be carried out if it makes some sense--or not much of a chance?

☐ Good chance

☐ Some chance

☐ No chance

☐ Don't know

7.c. How about you -- have you ever been in on something like that yourself?

☐ Yes

☐ No

7.d. Tell me about it.

Now, let's talk a bit about things at home.

8. In most families, young people sometimes have disagreements with their parents. Does this ever happen in your family?

☐ Yes

☐ No

8.a. What are the main things you disagree about with your parents? [PROBE FOR DISAGREEMENT WITH BOTH PARENTS AND WITH FATHER OR MOTHER ONLY.]

9. I have here a list of problems that sometimes come up between parents and young people. We've found that in most families some of them happen every so often. Would you please tell me which of these kinds of problems come up between you and your parents?

QUESTION-LETTERS OF THE PROBLEMS HE CONSIDERS MOST IMPORTANT IN THE BLANKS BELOW

Here is the first one:

	<u>Happens</u>	<u>Doesn't Happen</u>
9.a. Parents sometimes feel that young people don't do their share of work around the house. Does this ever happen to you and your parents?	☐	☐
9.b. How about obedience? Some parents feel that young people fail to do what they are told. Does this happen to you?	☐	☐
9.c. How about problems of right and wrong? Some parents feel that their children don't always do what is good and right. Do you ever have that kind of problem?	☐	☐
9.d. Then there is the problem of getting ahead. Some parents want their children to make a lot of headway in school and in life later on, and they feel that the children aren't working hard enough to get ahead. Does that happen in your case?	☐	☐
9.e. How about beliefs and ideas, like religion, opinions about politics, and the like. Some parents object if their children have ideas that are different from their own. Does that happen in your case?	☐	☐
9.f. Sometimes parents feel that children are doing or saying things that are embarrassing to the family, things that might give the family a bad name. Do you ever have that problem?	☐	☐
9.g. Then there is the problem of getting along with other people. Some parents feel that their children aren't polite and considerate enough toward other people. Do you sometimes have this problem?	☐	☐
9.h. Some parents feel that their children want to have too much of a say in the home. Does this happen in your case?	☐	☐
9.i. Are there any other problems like these that have happened to you? If so, what are they?	☐	☐

IF R HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN THREE PROBLEMS UNDER QUESTIONS 9.a-9.i.

9.j. Now, of the problems you have mentioned, which three do you think are the most important?

[READ BACK TO R THE PROBLEMS HE HAS MENTIONED, AND WRITE THE QUESTION-LETTERS OF THE PROBLEMS HE CONSIDERS MOST IMPORTANT IN THE BLANKS BELOW]

ASK QUESTIONS 10 THROUGH 12f. ONLY IF ANY PROBLEMS WERE MENTIONED IN QUESTION 7. DO NOT ASK ABOUT MORE THAN THREE OF THE ONES MENTIONED.

10. Let's take the problem of _____ first.

Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of preceding page.

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

10.a. How do you feel about it?

10.b. What do you do about it?

10.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?

☐ Yes

☐ No

10.d. What is it?

10.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?

☐ Yes

☐ No

10.f. What is it?

ASK QUESTIONS 10 THROUGH 12 f. ONLY IF ANY PROBLEMS WERE MENTIONED IN QUESTION 7. DO NOT ASK ABOUT MORE THAN THREE OF THE ONES MENTIONED.

11. Let's take the problem of _____ second.

Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of preceding page.

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

11.a. How do you feel about it?

11.b. What do you do about it?

11.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?

☐ Yes

☐ No

11.d. What is it?

11.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?

☐ Yes

☐ No

11.f. What is it?

WORDING OF PROBLEMS

- A. ... doing your share of the housework
- B. ... obedience at home
- C. ... right and wrong
- D. ... getting ahead in school and in life later on
- E. ... beliefs like religion, politics and so on
- F. ... things which might embarrass the family
- G. ... politeness and consideration
- H. ... having a say in how things are done at home
- I. ... (USE STUDENT'S WORDING)

ASK QUESTIONS 10 THROUGH 12 f. ONLY IF ANY PROBLEMS WERE MENTIONED IN QUESTION 7. DO NOT ASK ABOUT MORE THAN THREE OF THE ONES MENTIONED.

12. Let's take the problem of _____ third.

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of preceding page.

12.a. How do you feel about it?

12.b. What do you do about it?

12.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?

☐ Yes

☐ No

12.d. What is it?

12.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?

☐ Yes

☐ No

12.f. What is it?

13. If you have some idea how things might be done better around your house, is there a pretty good chance that your family will listen to you?

☐ Good chance

☐ Some chance

☐ No chance

☐ Don't know

13.a. How would you go about making your people pay attention to your ideas?

13.b. If you have a good idea, is there a pretty good chance that this will actually be carried out?

☐ Good chance

☐ Some chance

☐ No chance

☐ Don't know

13.c. Have you ever tried to change the way things are being done in your home?

☐ Yes

☐ No

13.d. Tell me about it?

14. Would you say your father is a Democrat, a Republican, or what?

☐ Democrat

☐ Republican

☐ Independent

☐ Don't know

14.a. Would you say he is a strong Democrat (or Republican) or an average Democrat (or Republican)?

☐ Strong

☐ Average

IF "INDEPENDENT"
IN QUESTION 14

14.b. Would you say he leans toward the Democrats or toward the Republicans?

☐ Democrats

☐ Republicans

☐ Doesn't lean

15. Would you say your mother is a Democrat, a Republican, or what?

☐ Democrat

☐ Republican

☐ Independent

☐ Don't know

15.a. Would you say she is a strong Democrat (or Republican) or an average Democrat (or Republican)?

☐ Strong

☐ Average

IF "INDEPENDENT"
IN QUESTION 15

15.b. Would you say she leans toward the Democrats or toward the Republicans?

☐ Democrats

☐ Republicans

☐ Doesn't lean

16. Do you think your father is more interested in politics and public affairs than most people, or less interested?	☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less ☐ Can't tell
17. How about your mother? Do you think she is more interested in politics and public affairs than most people, or less interested?	☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less ☐ Can't tell
18. Would you say your parents expect you to show some interest in politics and public affairs, or wouldn't it make any difference to them whether you do or don't?	☐ Expect interest ☐ Doesn't make difference
Now I'd like to talk with you about the young people you know, your friends, the people you go around with.	
19. Do you sometimes have disagreements among your friends? ☐ Yes ☐ No	
19.a. What are the main things you and your friends disagree about? 	
19.b. How about different groups of students--friendship groups, cliques, gangs, crowds, or whatever you may call them. Do disagreements sometimes come up between different groups of that kind? ☐ Come up ☐ Don't come up ☐ Don't know	
19.c. What are the main things groups of students around here disagree about? 	

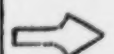
20. Now, I'll go through the list of problems again. I'd like you to tell me this time which of these have happened to you in getting along with your friends. Also, I'd like you to tell me which have come up between your group of friends (as a group) and other groups of students.

First of all . . .

Happens		
to R	to his group	Doesn't happen

- 20.a. Students sometimes have trouble about the share of work each is supposed to do on some project. Have you ever been in on anything like that? ☐ ☐ ☐
- 20.b. Sometimes students or groups of students get criticized because they don't do what everyone else thinks they should, or what the majority has decided to do. Have you or your friends ever been in on something like that? ☐ ☐ ☐
- 20.c. How about problems of right and wrong? Students sometimes get criticized for not doing what other students think is right. Do you or your friends ever have that kind of problem? ☐ ☐ ☐
- 20.d. Then there are grades and other ways of getting ahead. Some students get criticized by other students for not taking enough interest in school work. Have you or your friends ever been in on anything like that? ☐ ☐ ☐
- 20.e. How about beliefs and ideas (like religion, ideas about politics and the like)? Some students object to people having beliefs different from their own. Have you or your friends ever been involved in something like that? ☐ ☐ ☐
- 20.f. Students sometimes feel that other students are saying or doing things that might embarrass their own group of friends or the school as a whole. Have you or your group had this problem? ☐ ☐ ☐
- 20.g. Then there is the problem of getting along with other people. Students sometimes object to those who are not polite and considerate, or who aren't very "smooth." Have you or your friends ever been in such a situation? ☐ ☐ ☐
- 20.h. Sometimes a student or group of students is blamed for trying to have more of a say in how things are run in school than other people (throwing their weight around too much). Have you or your friends ever had such a problem? ☐ ☐ ☐
- 20.i. Are there any other problems like these that cause disagreements among students? If so, what are they? ☐ ☐ ☐

[IN THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS, READ BACK TO R THE PROBLEMS HE HAS MENTIONED AND WRITE THE QUESTION-LETTERS OF THE PROBLEMS HE CONSIDERS MOST IMPORTANT IN THE APPROPRIATE BLANKS]

20.j. IF R HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN THREE PROBLEMS AS HAPPENING TO HIMSELF:
 You have said that you yourself sometimes have problems with your friends. Which three of these problems do you think are the most important?
 _____

20.k. IF R HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN THREE PROBLEMS AS HAPPENING TO HIS GROUP:
 You have said that your group of friends sometimes has problems with other groups. Which three of these problems do you think are most important?
 _____

WORDING OF PROBLEMS

- A ... doing your own share ~~for~~ your group of friends
- B ... doing what your friends have decided to do
- C ... doing what your friends regard as right and wrong
- D ... fitting in with your friends on grades and school work
- E ... having ideas different from your friends on religion, politics, and so on
- F ... things which might embarrass your friends
- G ... being as polite and considerate as your friends expect
- H ... how much say you should have in the affairs of your group of friends
- I ... (USE STUDENT'S OWN WORDING)

ASK QUESTIONS 21 THROUGH 23f. ONLY IF ANY PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN MENTIONED ARISING BETWEEN R AND HIS GROUP OF FRIENDS. DO NOT ASK ABOUT MORE THAN THREE OF THE ONES MENTIONED.

21. Let's take the problem of _____ first.

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of preceding page.

21.a. How do you feel about it?

21.b. What do you do about it?

21.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?



☐ Yes

☐ No

21.d. What is it?

21.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?



☐ Yes

☐ No

21.f. What is it?

WORDING OF PROBLEMS

- A ... doing your own share for your group of friends
- B ... doing what your friends have decided to do
- C ... doing what your friends regard as right and wrong
- D ... fitting in with your friends on grades and school work
- E ... having ideas different from your friends on religion, politics, and so on
- F ... things which might embarrass your friends
- G ... being as polite and considerate as your friends expect
- H ... how much say you should have in the affairs of your group of friends
- I ... (USE STUDENT'S OWN WORDING)

ASK QUESTIONS 21 THROUGH 23f. ONLY IF ANY PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN MENTIONED AS ARISING BETWEEN R AND HIS GROUP OF FRIENDS. ASK ABOUT A MAXIMUM OF THREE PROBLEMS

22. Let's take the problem of _____ second

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of preceding page.

22.a. How do you feel about it?

22.b. What do you do about it?

22.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?

☒ Yes

☐ No

22.d. What is it?

22.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?

☒ Yes

☐ No

22.f. What is it?

WORDING OF PROBLEMS	
A ... doing your own share for your group of friends	
B ... doing what your friends have decided to do	
C ... doing what your friends regard as right and wrong	
D ... fitting in with your friends on grades and school work	
E ... having ideas different from your friends on religion, politics, and so on	
F ... things which might embarrass your friends	
G ... being as polite and considerate as your friends expect	
H ... how much say you should have in the affairs of your group of friends	
I ... (USE STUDENT'S OWN WORDING)	

ASK QUESTION 21 THROUGH 23f. ONLY IF ANY PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN MENTIONED ARISING BETWEEN R AND HIS GROUP OF FRIENDS. DO NOT ASK ABOUT MORE THAN THREE OF THE ONES MENTIONED.

23. Let's take the problem of _____ third

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

← Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of preceding page.

23a. How do you feel about it?

23.b. What do you do about it?

23.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?

☒ Yes ☐ No

23.d. What is it?

23.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?

☒ Yes ☐ No

23.f. What is it?

WORDING OF PROBLEMS

- | | |
|---------|---|
| A . . . | you and your friends doing your share in school activities |
| B . . . | you and your friends doing what the majority of students want to do |
| C . . . | you and your friends acting according to the views of most students on what is right and wrong |
| D . . . | you and your friends doing more to get ahead in school |
| E . . . | you and your friends having ideas different from most students on things like religion, politics, and so on |
| F . . . | you and your friends doing things that might give the school a bad name |
| G . . . | you and your friends being regarded as not polite and considerate enough |
| H . . . | you and your friends being accused of throwing your weight around too much |
| I . . . | (USE STUDENT'S OWN WORDING) |

ASK QUESTIONS 24 -26f ONLY IF ANY PROBLEM HAS BEEN MENTIONED AS ARISING BETWEEN R'S FRIENDS AND OTHER GROUPS OF STUDENTS. ASK ABOUT A MAXIMUM OF THREE PROBLEMS.

24. Let's take the problem of _____ first.

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of preceding page.

24.a. How do you feel about it?

24.b. What do you do about it?

24.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?

☒ Yes

☐ No

24.d. What is it?

24.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?

☒ Yes

☐ No

24.f. What is it?

WORDING OF PROBLEMS

- A . . . you and your friends doing your share in school activities
- B . . . you and your friends doing what the majority of students want to do
- C . . . you and your friends acting according to the views of most students on what is right and wrong
- D . . . you and your friends doing more to get ahead in school
- E . . . you and your friends having ideas different from most students on things like religion, politics, and so on
- F . . . you and your friends doing things that might give the school a bad name
- G . . . you and your friends being regarded as not polite and considerate enough
- H . . . you and your friends being accused of throwing your weight around too much
- I . . . (USE STUDENT'S OWN WORDING)

ASK QUESTIONS 24-26f ONLY IF ANY PROBLEM HAS BEEN MENTIONED AS ARISING BETWEEN R'S FRIENDS AND OTHER GROUPS OF STUDENTS. ASK ABOUT A MAXIMUM OF THREE PROBLEMS.

25. Let's take the problem of _____ second

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of preceding page.

25.a. How do you feel about it?

25.b. What do you do about it?

25.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?

☐ Yes

☐ No

25.d. What is it?

25.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?

☐ Yes

☐ No

25.f. What is it?

WORDING OF PROBLEMS

- A . . . you and your friends doing your share in school activities
- B . . . you and your friends doing what the majority of students want to do
- C . . . you and your friends acting according to the views of most students on what is right and wrong
- D . . . you and your friends doing more to get ahead in school
- E . . . you and your friends having ideas different from most students on things like religion, politics, and so on
- F . . . you and your friends doing things that might give the school a bad name
- G . . . you and your friends being regarded as not polite and considerate enough
- H . . . you and your friends being accused of throwing your weight around too much
- I . . . (USE STUDENT'S OWN WORDING)

ASK QUESTIONS 24 -26f ONLY IF ANY PROBLEM HAS BEEN MENTIONED AS ARISING BETWEEN R'S FRIENDS AND OTHER GROUPS OF STUDENTS. ASK ABOUT A MAXIMUM OF THREE PROBLEMS.

26. Let's take the problem of _____ third

How does this kind of disagreement usually come about?

Insert in blank the code letter given to the problem as listed in the box "Wording of Problems" on back of Preceding page.

26.a. How do you feel about it?

26.b. What do you do about it?

26.c. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to make things easier?

☐ Yes

☐ No

26.d. What is it?

26.e. Is there anything you sometimes do in order to avoid this kind of problem?

☐ Yes

☐ No

26.f. What is it?

27. If you had some idea about the way things ought to be done around here, do you think there's a pretty good chance that other students might listen to you?

☐ Good chance

☐ Some chance

☐ No chance

☐ Don't know

27.a. How would you go about making other students pay attention to your ideas?

27.b. If you have a good idea, is there a pretty good chance that it will actually be carried out?

☐ Good chance

☐ Some chance

☐ No chance

☐ Don't know

27.c. Have you ever tried to change the way things are being done around here?

☐ Yes

☐ No

27.d. Tell me about it.

28. If your group of friends came up with some ideas about the way things ought to be done around here, is there a pretty good chance other students would listen?

☐ Good chance

☐ Some chance

☐ No chance

☐ Don't know

28.a. How would your group go about making other students pay attention to the new ideas?

28.b. If your group of friends has a good idea, is there a pretty good chance that it will actually be carried out?

☐ Good chance

☐ Some chance

☐ No chance

☐ Don't Know

28.2. Has your group of friends ever tried to change the way things are being done around here?

☐ Yes

☐ No

28.d. Tell me about it.

29. If your friends could vote, do you think most of them would be for the same party, or would they divide up between the two major parties?

☒ Same party

☐ Divide up

☐ Don't know

29.a. Which party would most of them vote for?

30. Do you consider yourself a Democrat, or Republican, or what?

☒ Democrat

☐ Republican

☐ Independent

☐ Don't know

30.a. Would you say you are a strong Democrat (or Republican) or an average Democrat (or Republican)?

☐ Strong

☐ Average

IF "INDEPENDENT"
IN QUESTION 30

30.b. Would you say you lean toward the Democrats or toward the Republicans?

☐ Democrats

☐ Republicans

☐ Don't lean

31. Would you say you are more interested in politics and public affairs than most students, or less interested?

☐ More

☐ Same

☐ Less

☐ Can't tell

32. I'm going to mention a few people who have been in the news recently. Would you tell me who each of them is?

	Right	Half-right	Wrong	Don't know		Right	Half-right	Wrong	Don't know
Nikita Khrushchev	☐	☐	☐	☐	Reapportionment	☐	☐	☐	☐
Harold Macmillan	☐	☐	☐	☐	Security Council	☐	☐	☐	☐
U Thant	☐	☐	☐	☐	Massive retaliation	☐	☐	☐	☐
Adlai Stevenson	☐	☐	☐	☐	School bond	☐	☐	☐	☐
Walter Reuther	☐	☐	☐	☐	Sit-in	☐	☐	☐	☐
George Romney	☐	☐	☐	☐	Ambassador	☐	☐	☐	☐
Robert Kennedy	☐	☐	☐	☐	Disarmament	☐	☐	☐	☐
Earl Warren	☐	☐	☐	☐	ICBM				
Mennen Williams	☐	☐	☐	☐					
Charles de Gaulle	☐	☐	☐	☐					
John Swainson	☐	☐	☐	☐					
John F. Kennedy	☐	☐	☐	☐					
Dean Rusk	☐	☐	☐	☐					

34. Suppose your friends asked you to participate in some activity that you were interested in, but your parents felt it wasn't good for you. Which of the following would you be most likely to do?

- ☐ Accept the judgment of your parents
☐ Try to talk your parents out of it
☐ Try to figure out whether your parents or your friends are right about it?

34.a. How would you go about figuring it out?

IF NO CLEAR ANSWER TO 34.a.

34.b. Would you try to see what other students do under similar circumstances?

- ☐ Yes
☐ Perhaps
☐ No

Comments:

34.c. Would you try to figure out whose opinion you should accept in a matter like that?

- ☐ Yes
☐ Perhaps
☐ No

Comments:

34.d. Would you try to reach a decision according to your own understanding of good and bad?

- ☐ Yes
☐ Perhaps
☐ No

Comments:

35. Suppose you found out that there was an organization which is not supposed to exist at school. Do you think you should tell the school authorities about it, or not?

☒ Should tell ☐ Depends

☐ Shouldn't tell

☐ Can't decide

35.a. What does it depend on?

35.b. What would be the main reason for your decision?

35.c. Do you think the existing rules should be observed, no matter whether you like them or not -- or would you try to figure out whether they are fair or unfair?

☒ Observed ☐ Figure out

☐ Don't know

35.d. How would you go about figuring out?

IF NO CLEAR ANSWER TO 35.d.

35.3. Would you try to see what other students are doing under similar circumstances?

☐ Yes

☐ Perhaps

☐ No

Comments:

35.f. Would you try to figure out whose views should be accepted in a matter like this -- the opinion of the school authorities, your parents, your friends, other students -- or what?

☐ Yes

☐ Perhaps

☐ No

Comments

35.g. Would you try to reach a decision according to your own understanding of right and wrong

☐ Yes

☐ Perhaps

☐ No

Comments

36. Suppose a teacher wanted you to participate in some activity (for instance some sport or music) but your parents felt that you shouldn't. What would you do?

PROBE AS FOLLOWS IF NECESSARY

36.a. Would you make the decision according to your own preference?

- ☐ Yes
☐ Perhaps
☐ No

36.b. Would you try to figure out whose judgment should be accepted in this matter?

- ☐ Yes
☐ Perhaps
☐ No

36.c. Would you try to do what other students might do in the same circumstances

- ☐ Yes
☐ Perhaps
☐ No

37. We all have ideas about our strong and weak points. Here is a list of points some people regard as important. Would you rate yourself on this list?

[USE HAND RATING LIST]

38. Now I'd like you to do the same thing again, but this time mark what you think your parents consider your strong or weak points.

[USE HAND RATING LIST]

39. Now I'd like you to do the same thing again, but this time mark what you think your teachers consider your strong or weak points.

[USE HAND RATING LIST]

40. Now I'd like you to do this one more time. This time, please mark how you think most of your friends would rate you.

[USE HAND RATING LIST]

Michigan State University

Bureau of Social and Political Research

CIVIC EDUCATION STUDY

Your name (Please print)

Grade

Program (college prep, commercial, general, vocational, and so on)

Home address

You have 55 minutes to complete this questionnaire. Please answer quickly, but carefully.

The following questions are about yourself, your family, and your friends.

1. What school clubs or school activities do you regularly participate in? (Write names of clubs or activities. (If you are an officer, write name of office.)) ☐ None

Name of club or activity

Office you hold

2. What clubs or activities do you regularly participate in outside school? ☐ None

Name of club or activity

Office you hold

3. What is your religious preference?

3a. If you are a Protestant, what particular kind?

4. What is your race?

☐

White

☐

Negro

☐

Other (explain) _____

5. Who is the main breadwinner in your family?

☐

Father

☐

Mother

☐

Other (explain) _____

6. What is the occupation of the main breadwinner in your family?

6a. What kind of business does he [she] work in? _____

6b. Does he [she] work for someone else?

☐

works for self

☐

works for an employer

7. Whom do you live with?

☐

Both of my parents

☐

My father

☐

My mother

☐

My father and stepmother

☐

My mother and stepfather

☐

Other (explain) _____

8. How much schooling does your father (or stepfather, or guardian) have?

☐

Elementary school

☐

Some high school, but did not graduate

☐

Some high school and trade or business school

☐

High school graduate

☐

High school graduate and trade or business school training

☐

Some college education

☐

College graduate

☐

Post-graduate college training

9. How much schooling does your mother (or stepmother, or guardian) have?

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Elementary school | ☐ High school graduate and trade or business school training |
| ☐ Some high school, but did not graduate | ☐ Some college education |
| ☐ Some high school and trade or business school | ☐ College graduate |
| ☐ High school graduate | ☐ Post-graduate college training |

10. What do you expect to do after you get out of high school?

- ☐ Get a job right away
- ☐ Go into military service and get a job afterwards
- ☐ Go into military service and go to college afterwards
- ☐ Go into military service and make a career of it
- ☐ Go to a trade or business school
- ☐ Go to college
- ☐ Get married and go to college
- ☐ Get married and get a job
- ☐ Get married and be a homemaker

11. If everything goes well, what kind of a job do you hope to have ten years from now? Write name or description of job. If you don't have any idea about this, write "Don't Know." For girls, if you want to be a housewife, put that down, and then say what kind of job you would like your husband to have.

41. How often do you watch news programs and reports on public affairs on TV?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Less than once a week
- ☐ About once a week
- ☐ Once every four to six days
- ☐ Once every two to three days
- ☐ Once a day
- ☐ More than once a day

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

42. How often do you read news stories and articles on public affairs in a daily newspaper?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Less than once a week
- ☐ About once a week
- ☐ Once every two or three weeks
- ☐ Once every four to six days
- ☐ Once a day
- ☐ More than once a day

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

43. How often do you listen to news programs on the radio?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Less than once a week
- ☐ About once a week
- ☐ Once every four to six days
- ☐ Once every two to three days
- ☐ Once a day
- ☐ More than once a day

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

44. How often do you read articles on public affairs in weekly papers or magazines?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Less than once a month
- ☐ About once a month
- ☐ Once every two to three weeks
- ☐ Once a week
- ☐ More than once a week

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

45. How often do you talk about politics and world affairs with your friends?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ☐ Never | ☐ Sometimes |
| ☐ Very rarely | ☐ Often |
| ☐ Rarely | ☐ Very often |

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

46. How often do you talk about politics and world affairs with your parents?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ☐ Never | ☐ Sometimes |
| ☐ Very rarely | ☐ Often |
| ☐ Rarely | ☐ Very Often |

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

47. Are you as interested in politics and world affairs as most of the students you know?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Less interested
- ☐ Just as interested
- ☐ More interested

48. Are your parents as interested in politics and world affairs as most people?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Less interested
- ☐ Just as interested
- ☐ More interested

12. How many different groups of friends do you have?

- ☐ NONE (go on to Question 13)
☐ ONE group of friends (go on to Question 13)

- ☐ TWO groups of friends
☐ THREE or more groups of friends

In what ways are these groups different? (Mention interests, backgrounds, ideas of right and wrong.)

13. Several kinds of groups are shown below. Check how many people in each of these agree with your own ideas (about right and wrong, about religion, about their place in the community, about public life, and so on).

Most share my ideas	Quite a few share my ideas	Some share my ideas	Very few share my ideas	IF THERE IS NO GROUP LIKE THIS, CHECK THIS COLUMN
				↓
My close friends				
People I work with on school activities				
People I work with on out-of-school activities				
People I have fun with ("hang out," "fool around," etc.)				
People I go to parties with				
People I date				
Other people (explain) _____				

14. The chart below compares all of these kinds of groups. In each space check whether the two groups are made up of the same, partly the same, or different people.

COMPARE this group	with this group	My close friends	People I work with on school activities	People I work with on out-of-school activities	People I have fun with	People I go to parties with
People I date		☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different
People I go to parties with		☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	
People I have fun with		☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different		
People I work with on out-of-school activities		☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different	☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different			
People I work with on school activities		☐ same ☐ partly same ☐ different				

15. How well do your parents (or guardians) know the parents of most of your friends?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ They know nothing about each other
- ☐ They know about each other, but they haven't met
- ☐ They have met, but only at public affairs (PTA and other meetings)
- ☐ They have met as neighbors or they go to the same church, etc.
- ☐ They get together socially

16. How much do you feel you have to say about the way things are run in this school?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Quite a bit
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Very little
- ☐ Nothing at all

17. How much do you feel you have to say about the way things are being run in your home?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Quite a bit
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Very little
- ☐ Nothing at all

18. How much do you feel you have to say about the things you and your friends are doing together?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Quite a bit
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Very little
- ☐ Nothing at all

19. When you are on your own, how much you think you will have to say about the way your place of work will be run?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Quite a bit
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Very little
- ☐ Nothing at all

20. When you are out of school and on your own, how much do you think you will have to say about the way the community you live in will be run?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Quite a bit
☐ Some
☐ Very little
☐ Nothing at all

21. When you are out of school and on your own, how much do you think you will have to say about the way this country's government is run?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Quite a bit
☐ Some
☐ Very little
☐ Nothing at all

22. Most people who get ahead in life fast

	Agree	Can't decide	Dis-agree
...have superior talents and intelligence	☐	☐	☐
...are hard working	☐	☐	☐
...have connections with the right people	☐	☐	☐
...have a family that helps them a lot	☐	☐	☐
...are ruthless in fighting their way to the top	☐	☐	☐
...often let their friends down or even betray them	☐	☐	☐
...have a great deal of energy and don't get tired easily	☐	☐	☐

23. For you, as a high school student, which is more important?

To be respected	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have interesting things to do	☐	OR	☐	To stand up for yourself
To have good friends	☐	OR	☐	To have money
To be important	☐	OR	☐	To have interesting things to do
To stand up for yourself	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To stand up for yourself
To have interesting things to do	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To be respected	☐	OR	☐	To have interesting things to do
To stand up for yourself	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To be important	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To have good friends	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To stand up for yourself	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have interesting things to do	☐	OR	☐	To have money

24. After you are out of school (or college) and are on your own, which do you think will be more important?

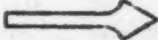
To be respected	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have interesting things to do	☐	OR	☐	To stand up for yourself
To have good friends	☐	OR	☐	To have money
To be important	☐	OR	☐	To have interesting things to do
To stand up for yourself	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To stand up for yourself
To have interesting things to do	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To be respected	☐	OR	☐	To have interesting things to do
To stand up for yourself	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To be important	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To have good friends	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To stand up for yourself	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have interesting things to do	☐	OR	☐	To have money

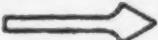
25. If two people have a quarrel, in your opinion what are the most frequent reasons?

	Very frequent	Some times	Hardly ever
They are disagreeing about money and other possessions	☐	☐	☐
Each is trying to prove he can beat the other	☐	☐	☐
Each is trying to prove he is superior to the other	☐	☐	☐
Each is trying to tell the other what to do	☐	☐	☐
They have different ideas about right and wrong	☐	☐	☐
They do not understand each other	☐	☐	☐
Both are stubborn and don't want to change in any way	☐	☐	☐
Each is afraid that giving in a little will give the other person the upper hand	☐	☐	☐

26. There are many ways in which a quarrel between two people can end. How often do you think each of these happens?

	Often	Some times	Hardly ever
A. One of them convinces the other that he is right	☐	☐	☐
B. One of them forces the other to give in	☐	☐	☐
C. Both of them realize that it might be easier to give in a little than to go on fighting	☐	☐	☐
D. A third person makes them stop	☐	☐	☐
E. Both of them are too exhausted to go on quarreling	☐	☐	☐
F. Both of them realize that the quarrel was mostly based on a misunderstanding	☐	☐	☐
G. Both of them call upon some person in authority to settle the issue	☐	☐	☐
H. They get together and work it out	☐	☐	☐

27. What do you think is the best way for a personal quarrel to end? Write down the letter of one of the statements above in this box.  ☐

What do you think would be the second best way? Write that letter in this box.  ☐

28. In most high schools students go around in groups of people who have similar family backgrounds and similar ideas.

28a. In your opinion, what are the advantages of going around with people much like yourself?

Big advantage Small advantage No advantage
[or untrue]

Having people of similar background in the group

- ... avoids many unnecessary fights
- ... makes it easier to decide what the group wants to do
- ... helps to maintain the reputation of the group and of its members
- ... helps to keep out people who wouldn't fit in
- ... helps to maintain the unity of the group
- ... helps to keep out narrow-minded people who usually spoil the fun
- ... helps to keep out people with poor moral standards
- ... gives people more pride in themselves and their friends

☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐

28b. In your opinion, what are the disadvantages of going around with people pretty much like yourself?

Big dis-advantage Small dis-advantage No dis-advantage
[or untrue]

Having only people of similar background in the same group

- ... deprives people of the chance to have healthy arguments over important questions
- ... makes some people think they are superior to others
- ... deprives people of the chance to broaden their views of making friends with people of different backgrounds
- ... makes it harder for anyone to be different
- ... makes people distrust others of different backgrounds
- ... makes life boring
- ... makes people dislike or even hate those who are different
- ... makes people narrow-minded in their beliefs

☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐

28c. In your opinion, should people go around only with those of similar background and ideas?

- ☐ Yes, this is the best thing they can do.
- ☐ It would do no good to object--you can't change human nature.
- ☐ People really should be more broadminded in the choice of their friends.
- ☐ The school should encourage people of different backgrounds to get together in various groups.
- ☐ The school should prohibit activities that allow people to be excluded on the basis of their backgrounds.

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

29. For President of the United States, would you prefer a man who --

PREFER GREATLY PREFER SOME-WHAT OR PREFER SOME-WHAT PREFER GREATLY

Takes a firm stand	☐	☐	OR	☐	☐	Is willing to compromise
Believes the U.S. is better than all other nations	☐	☐	OR	☐	☐	Believes that all nations have their good and bad sides
Is bold when danger is very great	☐	☐	OR	☐	☐	Is careful in the face of danger
Believes that the world would be best off under U.S. leadership	☐	☐	OR	☐	☐	Believes that all nations must take part in decisions for the common good
Feels that it's most important to unite all citizens on national policy	☐	☐	OR	☐	☐	Feels that it's best for citizens to have many different opinions on national policy
Knows how to get people excited	☐	☐	OR	☐	☐	Knows how to get people to think calmly
Sticks to his party's campaign promises	☐	☐	OR	☐	☐	Works with both parties even if he has to go back on campaign promises
Thinks we should help people of all nations, even those who are not on our side	☐	☐	OR	☐	☐	Thinks we should only help people who are clearly on our side
Is popular with all of the people	☐	☐	OR	☐	☐	Is respected by people who really count
Wants his country to win in international conflicts	☐	☐	OR	☐	☐	Wants cooperation between all nations

30. Negroes in this country can make a lot of headway by --

	Agree	Can't decide	Dis- agree
Showing superior talents and intelligence	☐	☐	☐
Working hard	☐	☐	☐
Having connections with people who can help	☐	☐	☐
Sticking together and helping each other	☐	☐	☐
Being ruthless in fighting their way to the top	☐	☐	☐
Putting success above loyalty to friends	☐	☐	☐
Showing a great deal of energy	☐	☐	☐
Using tricks in dealing with people	☐	☐	☐
Showing good practical sense	☐	☐	☐

31. For the Negroes as a group, which do you think is more important?

To be respected	☐	OR	☐	To have friends in other groups
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have an interesting life	☐	OR	☐	To stand up for themselves
To have friends in other groups	☐	OR	☐	To have money
To be important	☐	OR	☐	To have an interesting life
To stand up for themselves	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To stand up for themselves
To have an interesting life	☐	OR	☐	To have friends in other groups
To be respected	☐	OR	☐	To have an interesting life
To stand up for themselves	☐	OR	☐	To have friends in other groups
To be important	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To have friends in other groups	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To stand up for themselves	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have an interesting life	☐	OR	☐	To have money

32. If there is a fight over school integration in some community, what are in your opinion the most frequent reasons?

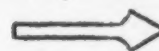
	Very frequent	Some time	Hardly ever
Negroes and whites are fighting over the way the community's income should be shared	☐	☐	☐
Those for integration and those against it are trying to prove that they can beat the other group	☐	☐	☐
Those for integration are trying to prove that Negroes are just as good as white people	☐	☐	☐
Those against integration are trying to prove that whites are better than Negroes	☐	☐	☐
The two groups are fighting over who should control community affairs	☐	☐	☐
The two groups have different basic principles about right and wrong	☐	☐	☐
Misunderstandings make it difficult for the two groups to get along	☐	☐	☐
Both groups are stubborn and don't want to change	☐	☐	☐
Each group is afraid that giving a little will give the other side the upper hand	☐	☐	☐

33. There are several ways in which conflicts over school integration can end. How often do you think community disputes over integration end in the following ways?

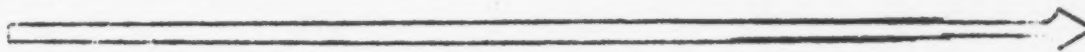
	Often	Some - times	Hardly ever
A. One side convinces the other that they are right	☐	☐	☐
B. One side forces the other to give in, as a result of public demonstrations, street riots, etc.	☐	☐	☐
C. Both realize that it might be easier to give in a little than to disrupt the community with continuing bitter quarrels	☐	☐	☐
D. The federal government stops the conflict over integration	☐	☐	☐
E. Both sides go on fighting until the schools can't function any more	☐	☐	☐
F. Both of them realize that the conflict was mostly due to misunderstandings	☐	☐	☐
G. Both of them call upon some higher authority to settle the issue	☐	☐	☐
H. The two sides get together and make a plan which satisfies both of them	☐	☐	☐

34. What do you think is the best way for a conflict over school integration to end?

Write down the letter of one of the statements above in this box.



What do you think would be the second best way. Write that letter in this box.



35. Most politicians who get ahead fast (for instance, get elected senators while young) --

	Agree	Can't decide	Disagree
...have superior talents and intelligence	☐	☐	☐
...are hard working	☐	☐	☐
...have connections with the right people	☐	☐	☐
...have a family that helps them a lot	☐	☐	☐
...are ruthless in fighting their way to the top	☐	☐	☐
...often let their friends down or even betray them	☐	☐	☐
...have a great deal of energy and don't get tired easy	☐	☐	☐

36. For a politician, which is more important?

To be respected	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have an interesting life	☐	OR	☐	To stand up for himself
To have good friends	☐	OR	☐	To have money
To be important	☐	OR	☐	To have an interesting life
To stand up for himself	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To stand up for himself
To have an interesting life	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To be respected	☐	OR	☐	To have an interesting life
To stand up for himself	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To be important	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To have good friends	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have money	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To stand up for himself	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To have an interesting life	☐	OR	☐	To have money

37. If two groups of Senators accuse each other of trying to waste the taxpayer's money--what are in your opinion most frequently the reasons for this fight?

Often Some-
times Hardly
ever

Each group is trying to save their own supporters some money

☐
☐
☐

Each group is trying to beat the other

☐
☐
☐

Each group is trying to prove that it is more honest and moral than the other

☐
☐
☐

Each group is trying to get control over the government

☐
☐
☐

The two groups have different principles of government

☐
☐
☐

The two groups don't understand each other's policies

☐
☐
☐

Both groups are stubborn and don't want to change their ideas.

☐
☐
☐

Both groups are afraid that giving in on any point will make the other party win

☐
☐
☐

38. There are several ways in which a conflict over the way government spends tax money can end. How often do you think such conflicts end in the following ways?

Often Some-
times Hardly
ever

A. One group of Senators convinces the other that they are right

☐
☐
☐

B. One group proves that the other is corrupt and forces it to give in

☐
☐
☐

C. Both groups realize that it's better to give in a little than to get involved in a battle that might ruin government programs

☐
☐
☐

D. Other groups stop the argument between the two groups of Senators

☐
☐
☐

E. Both groups go on arguing until the voters get tired of both of them

☐
☐
☐

F. Both groups realize that the argument was based mostly on misunderstandings

☐
☐
☐

G. Both groups leave the decision up to experts on finance and taxation

☐
☐
☐

H. The two groups get together and develop a common plan for public spending

☐
☐
☐

39. What do you think is the best way for a conflict over taxation to end?
Write down the letter of one of the statements above in this box.

What do you think would be the second best way?

Write that letter in this box.

☐
☐

40. The United States has laws about immigration into this country. In general, these laws make it easier for people to get in who are most like those already living in this country. What do you think are the advantages of these laws?

	Big advantage	Small advantage	No advantage
Letting into this country people who are mostly similar to us			
...avoids fights between people of different national origin	☐	☐	☐
...makes it easier to decide on national policy	☐	☐	☐
...helps to maintain the reputation of the country and of the people in it	☐	☐	☐
...helps to keep out people who wouldn't fit	☐	☐	☐
...helps to maintain the unity of the country	☐	☐	☐
...keeps out people who would lower the standard of living	☐	☐	☐
...keeps out people with poor moral standards	☐	☐	☐
...makes people more proud of themselves and of their country	☐	☐	☐

40b. In your opinion, what are the disadvantages of these laws?

	Big dis- advantage	Small dis- advantage	No dis- advantage
Letting into this country people who are mostly similar to us			
...cuts down on the chance of having healthy discussions on public matters	☐	☐	☐
...makes some people think they are superior to others	☐	☐	☐
...deprives people of the chance to broaden their views by making friends with people of different backgrounds	☐	☐	☐
...makes it harder for anyone to be different	☐	☐	☐
...makes people distrust others of different backgrounds	☐	☐	☐
...makes life boring	☐	☐	☐
...makes people dislike or even hate those who are different	☐	☐	☐
...makes people narrow-minded in their beliefs	☐	☐	☐

40c. In your opinion, should we continue to make it easy only for people who are similar to us to immigrate?

CHECK ONLY ONE BOX

- ☐ Yes, this is the best thing to do.
- ☐ More people of different backgrounds should be allowed in, but there should be some restrictions.
- ☐ All people should be allowed in, provided they prove they can take care of themselves.
- ☐ All people who want to come to this country should be allowed in.

50. In many countries high school students are very active in politics, and take part in political organizations, street demonstrations, etc. Nobody knows for certain why these foreign students are so interested in and excited about politics. What would you guess are the reasons?

- ☐ The students want a better chance in life for themselves
- ☐ They want their own country to have a better chance to develop
- ☐ They are mostly trouble-makers
- ☐ They are influenced by grown-ups with foreign, or communistic ideas
- ☐ They want to prove that they have a lot of power
- ☐ They are trying to gain other people's respect
- ☐ They are willing to fight for their rights
- ☐ They are willing to fight for their country

51. Each of the nations listed below has fought in several wars. What do you think they have mostly been fighting for? (CHECK NO MORE THAN TWO IN EACH ROW)

	Prestige	Justice	Territory	Power	Freedom	World Leadership
United States						
France						
Germany						
Russia						
Great Britain						
Japan						

Alternate forms of this questionnaire contained variations in questions number 30-37. On the following pages are the questions used in the second form of the questionnaire, the remainder being identical to the preceding form.

30 a. Most labor union leaders that get ahead fast--

...have superior talents and intelligence

...are hardworking

...have connections with the right people

...have a family that helps them a lot

...are ruthless in fighting their way to the top

...often let their friends down or even betray them

...have a great deal of energy and do not get tired easily

Agree

Can't
decide

Dis-
agree

☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐

31 a. For a labor union leader, which is more important?

To be respected

☐

OR

☐

To have good friends

To have money

☐

OR

☐

To be important

To have an interesting life

☐

OR

☐

To stand up for himself

To have good friends

☐

OR

☐

To have money

To be important

☐

OR

☐

To have an interesting life

To stand up for himself

☐

OR

☐

To be respected

To have money

☐

OR

☐

To stand up for himself

To have an interesting life

☐

OR

☐

To have good friends

To be respected

☐

OR

☐

To have an interesting life

To stand up for himself

☐

OR

☐

To have good friends

To be important

☐

OR

☐

To be respected

To have good friends

☐

OR

☐

To be important

To have money

☐

OR

☐

To be respected

To stand up for himself

☐

OR

☐

To be important

To have an interesting life

☐

OR

☐

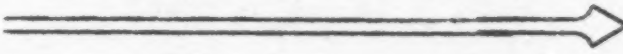
To have money

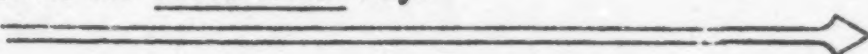
32 a. If there is a strike in a factory, what in your opinion are most frequently the reasons?

	Frequently	Sometimes	Hardly ever
Labor and management are fighting over the amount of money each should get	☐	☐	☐
Each is trying to prove that they can beat the other	☐	☐	☐
The workers are trying to show that they are just as good as the management	☐	☐	☐
Management is trying to show that they are superior to labor	☐	☐	☐
They are fighting over who should have control in the plant	☐	☐	☐
They have different basic principles about what is right and wrong	☐	☐	☐
Both are stubborn and don't want to change it in any way	☐	☐	☐
Each is afraid that giving in a little will give the other side the upper hand	☐	☐	☐

33 a. There are several ways in which conflicts between labor and management can end. How often do you think labor disputes end in the following ways?

	Frequently	Sometimes	Hardly ever
A. One side convinces the other that it is in the right.	☐	☐	☐
B. A strike or lock-out forces one of them to give in.	☐	☐	☐
C. Both of them realize that it might be less costly to give in a little than to have a strike	☐	☐	☐
D. The government makes them stop	☐	☐	☐
E. There is a strike, and both suffer heavy losses in wages and profits	☐	☐	☐
F. Both of them realize that the conflict was based on misunderstandings	☐	☐	☐
G. Both call upon an arbitrator to settle the issue	☐	☐	☐
H. Both work out a plan which will work for their mutual advantage	☐	☐	☐

34 a. What do you think is the best way for a labor dispute to end? Write down the letter of one of the statements above in this box. 

What do you think would be the second best way?
Write that letter in this box. 

35 a. Most nations that become leading world powers...

	Agree	Can't decide	Dis- agree
...have superior talents and intelligence	☐	☐	☐
...are hard working	☐	☐	☐
...have many friends in the world	☐	☐	☐
...have great natural wealth	☐	☐	☐
...are ruthless in fighting their way to the top	☐	☐	☐
...often let friends down or even betray them	☐	☐	☐
...have great energy and don't tire easily	☐	☐	☐

36 a. For a great nation, which is more important?

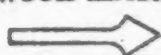
To be respected	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To be wealthy	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To be an interesting place to live in	☐	OR	☐	To stand up for itself
To have good friends	☐	OR	☐	To be wealthy
To be important	☐	OR	☐	To be an interesting place to live in
To stand up for itself	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To be wealthy	☐	OR	☐	To stand up for itself
To be an interesting place to live in	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To be respected	☐	OR	☐	To be an interesting place to live in
To stand up for itself	☐	OR	☐	To have good friends
To have good friends	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To be wealthy	☐	OR	☐	To be respected
To stand up for itself	☐	OR	☐	To be important
To be an interesting place to live in	☐	OR	☐	To be wealthy

37 a. If there is a conflict between two nations, what do you think are most frequently the reasons?

	Very frequent	Sometimes	Hardly ever
They are fighting over who is to have the greater share of the world's wealth.	☐	☐	☐
Each nation is trying to prove that it can beat the other.	☐	☐	☐
Each nation is trying to prove it is superior to the other.	☐	☐	☐
Each nation is trying to get control over world affairs.	☐	☐	☐
The two nations have different basic principles about right and wrong.	☐	☐	☐
They do not understand each other.	☐	☐	☐
Both nations are stubborn and don't want to change their positions in any way.	☐	☐	☐
Each nations is afraid that giving in a little will give the other nation the upper hand.	☐	☐	☐

38a. There are several ways in which disputes between nations can end. How often do you think such conflicts end in the following ways?

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely
A. There is a war, and one side beats the other.	☐	☐	☐
B. One nation convinces the other that is right.	☐	☐	☐
C. Both sides realize that it is less costly to make some concessions than to have a war.	☐	☐	☐
D. A third country stops the dispute.	☐	☐	☐
E. There is a war, and both sides end up completely ruined.	☐	☐	☐
F. Both sides realize that their differences were mostly based on misunderstandings.	☐	☐	☐
G. Both sides call upon the U.N. to settle the issue.	☐	☐	☐
H. The two sides get together and solve the dispute to their mutual advantage.	☐	☐	☐

39 a. What do you think is the best way for a dispute between nations to end? Write down the letter of one of the statements above in this box. 

What do you think would be the second best way? Write that letter in this box.

APPENDIX B

INDEX COMPUTATIONS

The following paragraphs show the methods used in computing indices insofar as these are not fully described in the text.

I. Index of socio-economic status (SES).

Code	Meaning
1	Father is a blue collar worker without college education.
2	Father is a blue collar worker with some college or more; a clerical worker or craftsman; or a professional person, manager or craftsman with less than a college degree.
3	Father is a professional, salesman or manager with a college degree.

II. Discrepancy indices.

All discrepancy indices are based on "step three" to "step seven" of the first (group structure) part of the last instrument. We give as an example the method for obtaining norm discrepancy scores based on "step five." The score was intended to measure the extent to which two cliques to which respondents belonged differed from one another in norm compliance. In the following description of the procedure, we use the term "clique" to refer to the aggregates defined by our own procedures, and the term "group" to refer to the aggregates designated by students in "step three" of the questionnaire.

A. First task: Obtain a norm compliance code for each clique. This is the average of the norm compliance scores assigned by the clique members.

1. Pull the questionnaires of all the students having membership status in a given clique. Acolytes are not considered.

2. Take each member's questionnaire and consider the groups that the member has designated (as A, B, C, and/or D) in "step three" of the questionnaire. Select the group whose composition most closely matches that of the clique. A "match" is obtained if at least half of the group members are also clique members. In case of a tie between two groups, select both.

3. For the group (or in rare cases, the groups) selected, average the scores on the norm compliance items which correspond to it in "step five." This is the perceived norm compliance score for a given member.

4. For each clique, average the perceived norm compliance scores of its members. This is the clique norm compliance score.

5. Tabulate the frequency distribution of clique norm compliance scores and divide it into three parts as nearly equal in size as possible. Code the scores by assigning the following numbers: 1 to the lowest third of the distribution, 2 to the middle, and 3 to the highest third. Code zero if the score could not be ascertained.

B. Second task: Assign a discrepancy score to each pair of cliques.

6. The discrepancy score is the absolute value of the difference between the norm compliance codes of the two cliques. (We add 1 in order to make the range of discrepancy scores go from 1 to 3, using score 0 for "not ascertained.") This results in a matrix of discrepancy scores.

C. Third task: Assign a discrepancy code to each individual respondent.

7. Consult the group membership chart which lists for each respondent, the cliques to which he belongs as a member or acolyte.

8. Consider all possible pairs of cliques to which respondent belongs as a member. (If he belongs to only two cliques, his score will be based on this pair.)

9. Consult the group discrepancy chart (constructed in task B, above) to ascertain the discrepancy scores of all respondent's clique pairs. Select the highest of these discrepancy scores and use it to enter chart A, below.

10. Repeat the same procedure as in 8 and 9 above, but use all cliques in which respondent is either a member or an acolyte.

11. From the chart below, ascertain two discrepancy scores for each respondent, the first based only on membership status, the second based on membership and/or acolyte status.

CHART A

Discrepancy code	R belongs to no or one clique	Acolyte - acolyte	Member - acolyte	Member - member
0, NA	0	0	0	0
1	0	1	2	3
2	0	4	5	6
3	0	7	8	9